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CURRENCIES: CIRCULATION AND SPECTATORSHIP IN THE PRINT CULTURE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

Currencies: circulation and spectatorship in the print culture of the French Revolution

This thesis examines the constitutive role of printed media in the formation of political identities during the French Revolution, placing particular emphasis on those areas of print production which have been conventionally and pejoratively marginalised as 'ephemeral', but which I argue are in fact central to the development of distinct and conflictual revolutionary positions. These objects demand a re-examination of the role of spectatorship during this period, and require an engagement with the role of reproduction and authenticity in the formation of individual subjectivities and modern nation states. The first chapter of my thesis addresses the role of *assignats* or revolutionary paper money, based on the value of confiscated church land, whose material facture became increasingly complicated in response to counterfeiting, part-sponsored by the British Government. The desire for increased transparency (literally, in terms of technological devices such as watermarking) paralleled Republican political morality, but was, I suggest, formulated in response to a range of counter-revolutionary actions. My second chapter examines printed representations of revolutionary festivals, and the problematics of memory, permanence and visuality associated with the representation of an ephemeral event. Chapter three analyses the representative role of the passport in the 1790s. Pre-photographic passports listed the physical characteristics of the bearer, to be compared to the subject at each checkpoint, a textual portrait which opened up a variety of narratives, both of an individual voyage, and, in the case of the politically disenfranchised, a narrative of exclusion centred on a spectatorial encounter. These are read against other spheres of representation, including 'honorific' certificates, portraiture and caricature. My final chapter looks at revolutionary games and other ludic material, and their multiple roles as signifiers of pedagogical truth or, in the case of *trompe l'oeil* of other prints, deception – all of which were dependent upon the attraction and direction of the gaze.

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother, with love, for her example and for always believing in me.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

BN – Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
MC – Musée Carnavalet, Paris
AN – Archives nationales, Paris
MRF – Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille

Introduction

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2.48 Abraham Girardet [inv. and del.] and Pierre-Gabriel Berthault [sculp.]
Fête de la Fondation de la République, 1er. Vendémiaire an V, 22 septembre 1796
Etching and engraving, c.1798, 19.3 x 26.8cm., BN, de Vinck 6787

2.49 Nicolas A. Taunay
The Triumph of the Guillotine
Oil on canvas, c.1795, dimensions unknown, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

2.50 Anon
Montagne élevée au Champ de la Réunion pour la fête de l'Être Suprême le 20 prairial l'an 2eme
Coloured etching, 1794, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck t. 46 no 6305

2.51 Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. and sculp.]
Fête a l'Être Suprême, le 8 juin 1794, ou 20 prairial an 2eme de la République
Engraving, 1797, 18.9 x 25.0cm., BN, de Vinck 6310

2.52 Naudet
Fête de l'Être Suprême au Champ de Mars
Drawing and watercolour, 1794, 46.8 x 73cm., MC, D. 5976

2.53 Anon
Fête de l'Être Suprême au Champ de Mars
Coloured etching, 1794, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 6309 (46)

2.54 Jean Duplessi-Bertaux, after Wille
Fête dédiée à la Vieillesse
Engraving, 1794 and 1795, 51 x 66cm., MC, Hist. GCVIII bis (no 30)

2.55 Pierre-Antoine Demachy
Fête de l'Être Suprême
Oil on canvas, 1794, dimensions unknown, MC

Chapter Three
Identity Crisis: Certifying the French Revolution

3.1 Passport
Issued to Jean-Pierre Gilson, domestic, Département des Forêts, 13 thermidor year VIII (1st August 1800), recto and verso
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1800, 21 x 16cm., private collection

3.2 Congé définitif
Issued to Jacques Gallilet, 18 messidor year IX (7th July 1801)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1801, dimensions unknown, private collection

3.3 Aveu
Issued to Alexandre Boine, pluviose year IV (January-February 1796)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1796, 23.5 x 21cm., AN F^7 3465: 195

3.4 Passport
Issued in name of Baron de Korff, allowing travel of king as 'valet', 9th June 1791
Manuscript, 1791, dimensions unknown, AN

3.5 John Nixon
Le Gourmand, Heavy Birds Fly Slow. Delay Breeds Danger
Coloured etching, 1791, dimensions unknown, British Museum, French version at BN, de Vinck 3967 (23)

3.6 Anon
The Arrest of Louis XVI at Varennes
Engraving, 1791, dimensions unknown, BN

3.7 Paul Jacques Aimé Baudry
Charlotte Corday
Oil on canvas, 1861, dimensions unknown, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

3.8 Anon
La Famille des cochons ramenée dans l'étable
Coloured etching, 1791, 19.7 x 28.8cm., BN, 3985

3.9 Membership card
Société Républicaine de Villeneuve-des-Argnon
Coloured engraving, c.1793, approx. 9 x 7cm., MRF

3.10 Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux
Projet d'un monumnet pour consacrer la Révolution
Engraving, n.d., dimensions unknown, BN

3.11 Passport
Issued to Louis Baraud, département de la Seine inférieure, 3 frimaire an VI (23rd November 1797)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1797, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.12 Passport
Issued to Louis Baraud, département de la Seine inférieure, 3 frimaire an VI (23rd November 1797) (reverse)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1797, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.13 Passport
Issued to Jean-Baptiste Girardot, département du Nord, 11 prairial an IV (30th May 1796) (recto and verso)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1796, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.14 Passport
Issued to Augustin Defiré, département de la Sarthe, 26 brumaire an VII (16th November 1798)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1798, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.15 Anatole Devosge, after Jacques-Louis David
Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau sur son lit de mort
Charcoal drawing, 1793, 38 x 33cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon

3.16 Charles-François-Gabriel Levachez [inv. del. medallion] and Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. del. vignette]
Portraits of Charles Duval d'Épremenil, Camille Desmoulins, Néker (sic), *Dumouriez, Jean Sylvain Mauri and Caritat de Condorcet*
Aquatint and etching, year VIII, year VI, year VI, year VI, year VII and year VI, approx. 43.5 x 28cm. each, BN

3.17 Vincent Vangelisty after André Pujos
J. Delille
Engraving and etching, 1777, 41cm x 28cm, BN, Est. N2

3.18 Charles-François-Gabriel Levachez [inv. del. medallion] and Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. del. vignette]
Louis XVI, dernier roi des français, né le 23 aoust 1754
Aquatint and etching, year VII, 43.5 x 28cm., BN

3.19 Charles-François-Gabriel Levachez [inv. del. medallion] and Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. del. vignette]
Honoré, Gabriel, Riquetti, Mirabeau, député de Provence aux États Généraux de 1789, mort le 2 avril 1791
Aquatint and etching, year VI, 43.5 x 28cm., BN

3.20 Gabriel
Portraits of Jacobins (Maillard, Simon, le cordonnier, and Jean Le Bon)
Pencil on paper, 1794, 9.5cm x 7.5cm, 9.8cm x 6.5cm, 6.8cm x 4.8cm., MC

3.21 Jacques-Louis David
Jeanbon Saint-André in prison
Brush and ink with gouache, 1795, dimensions unknown, Art Institute of Chicago

3.22 Anne-Louis Girodet
Portrait of Citoyen Belley, Ex-representative of the Colonies
Oil on canvas, 1797, 158 x 111cm., Château de Versailles

3.23 Passport
Issued to Anne-Louis Girodet, artist, messidor year IV (June 1796)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1796, dimensions unknown, AN, $F^{7}3570$

3.24 Anon
l'Urne mystérieuse
Engraving, c.1793-94, dimensions unknown, BN

3.25 Anon
Un sans-culotte, instrument des crimes, dansant au milieu des horreurs
Etching, c.1793, 19.5 x 31.2cm., MRF, N. 84. 871

3.26 Passport
Issued to François Durand, département du Gard, 25 prairial an VII (13th June 1799)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1799, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.27 Passport
Issued to Gilles Deschamps, département de la Marche, 4 ventôse an VI (22nd February 1798)
Manuscript, 1798, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.28 Napoleonic passport
Issued to V. Lamarre, 1st July 1808
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1808, dimensions unknown, private collection

3.29 Assignat
400 livres, 21st November 1792
Mixed print techniques, dimensions unknown (in: M.Muszynski, *Les Assignats de la Révolution française*, p. 114)

3.30 Laisser-passer
Local des Petits-Pères, Paris
Engraving with manuscript signature, n.d., dimensions unknown (in: J.Lafaurie, *Les Assignats et les papiers-monnaies émis par l'état au XVIIIe siècle,* p. 59)

3.31 Certificate for Conqueror of the Bastille
Mixed print techniques, 1790, dimensions unknown, MC

3.32 Vestier
Portrait of Latude
Oil on canvas, 1789, dimensions unknown, MC

Chapter Four
'One great play-table': games and spectatorship in revolutionary France

4.1 Anon
A faut esperer q'eu jeu la finira ben tot
Coloured etching, 1789, 20.2 x 14.5cm., MC, inv. G23830

4.2 Anon
Loto des trois ordres
Etching, c.1789, dimensions unknown, BN, Hennin 10271

4.3 Anon
Nouveau moyen de régénérer la France
Engraving and etching, c.1790, 13.4 x 8.5cm., BN, de Vinck 1394

4.4 Anon
Le législateur du biribi
Coloured etching, 1791-1794, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 2654, Qb1 1790

4.5 Anon
Jeu national et instructif, ou leçons exemplaires et amusantes, données aux bons citoyens, par Henri IV et le Père Gérard
Etching and engraving, 1789, dimensions unknown, BN

4.6 Anon
La Récréation française ou nouveau historique et cronologique des Rois de France
Etching, n.d., dimensions unknown, BN

4.7 Anon
Jeu de la Révolution Française
Coloured etching, c. 1791, dimensions unknown, BN

4.8 Anon
Jeu de la Révolution française, tracé sur le plan du jeu d'oye renouvéle les grècs
Etching and engraving, c. 1790-91, dimensions unknown, BN

4.9 Anon
Loto du Dauphin (two views, with writing sample)
Wood and ivory, c. 1791-2, dimensions unknown, MC

4.10 Dugourc and Jaume
Placard publicitaire du jeu de Jaume et Dugourc
Hand coloured wood engraving, 1793, 45.5 x 29cm., Musée National des Arts et traditions populaires, Paris, 48. 18. 23

4.11 Anon
Jeu contre-révolutionnaire de 1792
Coloured etching, 1792, 7.5 x 4.8cm., BN, Est., Kh. 203 rés./boîte fol. (coll. D'Allemagne)

4.12 Jean-Pierre Bézu
Les cartes instructives de Bézu à Egalité-sur-Marne
Coloured etching, 1794, 8.3 x 5.4cm., BN, Est., Kh. 383, no 227/boîte fol. (coll. P.Marteau)

4.13 Delion [sculp.]
Nouvelle carte de France, avec le jeu de Bous solean
Engraving, 1814, 32.5 x 29.5cm., BN

4.14 Anon
Contre les Emigrants. L'Général vat en Guerre
Aquatint, 1792, 7.5 x 13.5cm., BN, de Vinck 3701; Hennin 11167, Qb1 101037 and 101038

4.15 Dodd [del.] and Pass [sculp.]
Nativities of the Late King and Queen of France
Etching, 1793, 20.6 x 16.3cm., BN, Hennin N. 11 761, t.134

4.16 Anon
Le nouvel astre français ou la cocarde tricolore suivant le cour du Zodiaque
Etching, c.1792, 24.9 x 30.3cm., MC, GC Allégories

4.17 J.Benizy dit. Dubuisson [del. and sculp.]
Valeur des assignats et autres papiers monnaies, depuis l'époque de leur emission en France, jusqu'à celle ou ils ont cessé d'avoir Cours
Engraving, c.1796, 24.2 x 36.3cm., MRF

4.18 J.Benizy
Vignette for Dépots Nationaux Littéraires
Engraving, n.d., dimensions unknown (fragment), MRF

4.19 Louis-Léopold Boilly
Trompe-l'œil aux pièces de monnaies, sur le plateau d'un guéridon
Oil on mahogany, c. 1803-14, 48 x 60 x [base] 76cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

4.20 Anon
Burning of assignats
Aquatint, published in Germany, c.1796, dimensions unknown, BN

4.21 Anon
Éventail d'assignats
Engraving, c. 1796, dimensions unknown, Musée National des Techniques

4.22 Anon
Trompe-l'oeil assignats with table of values and depreciation
Engraving, c. 1796, dimensions unknown, BN

4.23 Anon
Trompe l'oeil d'assignats avec mendiant (après Jacques Callot) (det.)
Engraving, c.1796, 57.1 x 47.5cm. (whole print), BN, de Vinck 3335 (19), Hennin 12412 (141), Qb1 1796 (18 juillet)

4.24 Anon
Tableau d'assignats avec portraits de victimes et de profiteurs
Engraving, 1796-1799, dimensions unknown, BN, Qb1 1796 (18 juillet)

4.25 Anon
Trompe-l'oeil assignats with dead revolutionaries
Engraving, c.1796, approx. 7cm. diameter, Strang Print Room, University College London

4.26 Anon
Apparition de l'ombre de Mirabeau
Stipple engraving, 1792, 34.7 x 29.8cm., BN, de Vinck 1933

4.27 Atelier de Palloy
Trompe-l'oeil table with playing cards (two views)
Painted Bastille stone and wood, 1789-1795, dimensions unknown, MC

4.28 Willem van Nymegen
Trompe-l'oeil of Bastille
Engraving, n.d., dimensions unknown, private collection

4.29 Anon
Playing cards marked 'bon pour un pain'
Woodblock with manuscript additions, n.d., dimensions unknown, private collection

4.30 Anon
Tabatière aux assignats
Wooden box with engraved paper inlay, 1796, 8.5cm. diameter, MC, OFL 11-481

4.31 Assignats
500 livres, 20 pluviôse year II
Mixed print techniques, 18 x 11.5cm., collection of author, uppermost note illuminated from beneath to show watermark

4.32 Assignat watermark meshes
Forme filigranée. Projet non retenu (uppermost) and *Forme filigranée, par Tugot* (below)
Wood, copper and silver, 1793-94 and 1794, dimensions unknown, Musée National des Techniques. Inv. 97

4.33 Reliquary with intertwined hair (and detail of Marie-Antoinette's hair)
Wood, glass and personal effects, after 1793, dimensions unknown, MC

4.34 Anon
German émigré print
Etching, n.d., approx. 20 x 15cm., Strang Print Room, University College London

4.35 Anon
Tabatière with trompe-l'oeil assignats and dead revolutionaries
Wood with inlad print, c.1796, 8.5cm. diameter, MC

4.36 Antonio Forbera
Painter's Easel
Oil on canvas cut-out, 1686, 162 x 95cm., Musée Calvet, Avignon

4.37 Anon
Tableau des assignats (avec cartes à jouer et lunettes)
Engraving, 1796-1799, dimensions unknown, BN, Qb1 1796 (18 juillet)

4.38 Louis-Marie Prudhomme
Tableau listing details of deaths during the Revolution
From *Histoire des Crimes*, Tome VI, page 21
Engraving, 1796-97, dimensions unknown, BN

4.39 Anon
Poster detailing objects to be destroyed on Place des Piques, 19th February 1796
Engraving, 1796, dimensions unknown, Musée National des Techniques

4.40 Louis-Marie Prudhomme
Medley of atrocities from *Histoire des Crimes*, Tome I
Engraving, 1796-97, dimensions unknown, BN

4.41 Bognard company
Advertising cards featuring various revolutionary figures and assignats
Chromolithograph, c. 1889, 11 x 8cm. each, collection of author

INTRODUCTION

> And the man takes a wadded bill out of his pocket and unfolds it like a magic trick and then he waves the money at the group in front of him. "You see the eye that hangs over the pyramid here. What's pyramids doing on American money? This is webs and scribbles all over the bill, front and back that contains a message. This is not just rigmarole and cooked spaghetti. They predicting the day and the hour. They telling each other when the time is come. You can't find the answer in the Bible or the Bill of Rights. I'm talking to you. I'm saying history is written on the commonest piece of paper in your pocket". And he holds the bill by its edges and extends his elbows, showing the thing for what it is.
>
> Don DeLillo[1]

> Tout est optique. Ou jeu d'optique. De près que les choses sont différentes de ce qu'on les juge de loin! Tout a ses apparences trompeuses [...] je le répète, *tout est optique*; il est impossible de se figurer ce qui est [...] Comme les crises révolutionnaires sont composées d'*infiniment petits*, ceux-ci forment la base essentielle de tous les événements.
>
> L.-S. Mercier[2]

> Toujours les hommes se tromperont les uns les autres par les fausses apparences.
>
> F.-N.-C. Babeuf[3]

To paraphrase Lytton Strachey's cautionary opening sentence to *Eminent Victorians*, a true history of the French Revolution will never be written – we know too much about it.[4] Historical writing about the Revolution, begun in the heat of the revolutionary moment and continuing as a signifier of political allegiance throughout the ensuing two centuries, has blinded us with a surfeit of perspectives.[5] The potential visuality of history, its formation in a space defined by spectatorial

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[1] D.DeLillo, *Underworld*, London, 1998, p. 354. Referencing conventions are derived from the *MHRA Style Book: Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, Fifth Edition, London, 1996, pp. 41-55.

[2] L.-S.Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, Paris, 1994 [1797-1801], pp. 878-881. Original italics.

[3] F.-N.-C.Babeuf, *Journal de la Confederation*, no. 3, Sunday 4th July 1790, Paris, 1790, p. 2.

[4] L.Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, Harmondsworth, 1986 [1918], p. 9. Full quote reads: 'A true history of the Victorian Age will never be written: we know too much about it. For ignorance is the first requisite of the historian—ignorance, which simplifies and clarifies, which selects and omits, with a placid perfection unattainable by the highest art.'

[5] On the 'fictional' aspect of historical writing see: H.White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore and London, 1973.

position and a barely subdued aestheticism, is acknowledged by this excess of 'points of view.'[6] This thesis takes four broadly defined and inter-related case studies drawn from the visual culture of the Revolution, in order to analyse the ways in which a politics of spectatorship developed during the Revolution. The prints which I discuss: money, passports, certificates, games and representations of revolutionary ceremonies, were amongst the best-known and most widely circulated of all contemporary imagery, yet they have been, at least as far as their material appearance is concerned, absented from histories of the Revolution, even those which have examined with renewed interest the Revolution's visual culture. In looking at how the people of the Revolution 'saw things' we have often ignored the objects which made them most aware, on a daily basis, of the ambiguities presented by the visual, and of their own precarious positions as spectators. Furthermore, art history's love affair with the unique single-authored work has led us to ignore or reduce to a subsidiary role that which is right under our noses: mass-produced images whose functions strike a chord with their everyday modern counterparts, and whose significance is no less comprehensive. Perhaps a truer history of the Revolution will be written when we start to pay attention to those things about which we know 'too much.'

What, when and why?

I have chosen to divide this thesis into four case studies, which although closely related, stand as distinct enquiries in their own right. Each of the four chapters addresses a type of printed representation which was produced in large quantities, with high visibility among large sectors of the population. The subjects of the chapters are representative of the range, if not the intricate diversity of revolutionary print production, in that they comprise a varied body of different types of image, all of which could have been owned by even the most humble revolutionary citizen, although not exclusively so. By isolating specific examples it is possible to clarify certain themes and objects from the massive and otherwise unwieldy body of material printed during the Revolution, an approach which makes

[6] For Richard Cobb, a relative 'angle of vision' provides a structuring metaphor for all narratives of the Revolution. R.Cobb, *Reactions to the French Revolution*, London, 1972, p. 140. Walter Benjamin's evocation of the Angel of History, its gaze fixed on a past from which it is inexorably driven, provides perhaps the classic motif of spectatorship in the historical field. W.Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' in: W.Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. by Harry Zohn, London, 1992 [1955], p. 249.

good an absence within the historiography of print culture, which tends towards the general or easily thematised (caricature for instance), and has, for the most part ignored the examples dealt with here. Yet this structure is far from arbitrary or merely convenient, for the case studies presented here were selected for reason of both similarity and difference, a composition which highlights problems, paradoxes and discontinuities within wider, more coherent structures.

For example, at first sight a figurative representation of a festival does a very different thing to the textual description of the bearer offered on a passport or a certificate. However, both represent and reflect upon the circulation of individuals, and are concerned with new social and bureaucratic forms, with the establishment of new forms of civic and personal identity during the Revolution, and with the relationship between what is and is not seen. Furthermore, both engage directly with the tripartite relationship between objects and events in the world, their representation, and their perception by a viewer. My aim here is to demonstrate how similar concerns were at stake in apparently different works and contexts, but also to show how apparently unified concepts and groups of images are composed of often oppositional meanings. In short, I suggest that printed images produced during the French Revolution were a site of struggle wherein a range of different meanings competed, and where, through processes of looking, a wide variety of individual subjectivities and collective identities particular to the Revolution were formed. Indeed, the tensions and exchanges between the individual subject and the state are a theme of this thesis. Both individual examinations or subversions of state-issued currency and state reactions to illegal gambling, for instance, are dependent upon acts of looking, and the balance between conception and reception which was at the heart of the Revolution's struggle for authenticity.

The primary thematic headings around which this thesis is organised: 'circulation' and 'spectatorship' are, at a basic level, intrinsic characteristics of print culture in any period – as multiples, all prints are aimed at diverse and mobile audiences in different locations, and as made images, are intended to be seen – although their specific use in this context requires some clarification.

In this thesis I argue that the circulation of printed images in revolutionary France was essential to the formation of diverse and contradictory political identities during this period, and that the movement of images conditioned and reflected upon the ways in which bodies and citizens were conceptualised in time and space. The consolidation of the Revolution and of a definable revolutionary subject was not easily accomplished, requiring a radical re-negotiation of self, belonging and nationhood. This was a struggle over the extent of individual liberty, often imagined in terms of individual liberty of movement, and consequently the stakes for the circulation of both people and images were raised. This was a process which I argue was fundamentally based upon looking, and it is no coincidence that many of the images I discuss were, in part because of their quotidian use-values, among the most widely seen of the period. During the revolutionary period this visual emphasis becomes especially exaggerated, as the inspection (to take one model of looking) of individuals, groups and images became increasingly indissociable from revolutionary politics. I am eager to accentuate the different ways in which this occurred, and the extent to which this relationship was open-ended and susceptible to rapid change. As a consequence, it is important to recognise the degree to which a range of concurrent meanings are implicated in the viewing of a particular print, and the extent to which 'circulation' may be understood simultaneously as both literal and metaphorical, happening within and to images. For instance, images of festivals, whilst directly representing a ritual enactment of circulation via the movement of individuals through an urban environment, simultaneously refer to a circular engagement between material event and its representation, a circulation or recycling of materials.

Spectatorship, an admittedly somewhat loose term, is perhaps more properly considered in the plural, for I take it to refer to the many, and not necessarily exclusive, ways of looking which conditioned the relationship between circulating image and subject. Different ways of looking were necessitated by different objects and contexts. Often, the materiality of an image betrays this visual emphasis, for instance the watermarks and stamps of an assignat. In other places, immateriality is the key, as in some circumstances, for instance the surveillance of gambling houses or potential counter-revolutionaries, invisibility rather than visibility is the primary mode of understanding.

In my first chapter, I assess the form and function of assignats issued during the revolutionary decade, concentrating in particular on the ways in which their material facture, modified with increasing momentum in response to counterfeiting, encouraged an intensified awareness of the appearance of paper money. Carried about the person, the assignat materialised many contemporary discourses about the body, in particular individual relations to the revolutionary body politic, a feature which was as apparent in (generally counter-revolutionary) printed satires representing assignats as it was in Republican propaganda. The transformation of the iconography on and beneath the surface of the assignat swiftly became a site of artistic, political-economic and spectatorial conflict, with the gradual replacement of royal by Republican imagery, and the ongoing technical and legal battle against politically motivated counterfeiting. Increasingly, the assignat may be imagined, like a passport, as not only receiving but also emitting an inspecting, qualifying gaze capable of determining its bearer's political status. The dialogic relationship between different areas of print production, between different spheres of revolutionary politics, and indeed, between print and other forms of art is a concern here, in relation to the discourses of truth, falsehood, authorship and originality surrounding the production and circulation of paper money.

This is a theme which is explored further in my second chapter, on the representation of revolutionary festivals. Here I examine the relationship between the construction of revolutionary festivals, the events themselves, and their subsequent representations. I argue that the image of the festival in construction was an essential way of counteracting accusations of dissimulation and inauthenticity which plagued festival design, made even more problematic when the deceptive stage-sets of festivals were given the appearance of permanence through their representation in two dimensions. This desire clearly to demarcate the 'real' betrays an anxiety that the new images produced by the Revolution might have the potential to deceive the eye, and is comparable to the eagerness of manufacturers of assignats to allay charges of institutional counterfeiting. Images of festivals offer a range of different types of looking appropriate to different episodes in their internal narratives, or indeed to the role of different festivals within the Revolution itself. Concentrating in particular on the prototypical Paris festival of Federation, I argue

that images of festivals offered a composite way of 'seeing' and participating in the events for those who were excluded from the festival oath. When several such prints are viewed together they offer a transparent narrative of personal participation in a group event, which, as much as attendance at a festival, served to define revolutionary identities. In addition, such prints worked as aids to memory, perpetuating festivals and the transformed understanding of politics, space and history they represented, and offering a medium for the conceptualisation and commemoration of the Revolution in progress.

In my third chapter I examine the role of passports and similar identity documents, arguing that the archived personal descriptions they contained after 1792 were essential to the formation of distinct revolutionary subjectivities, and to the historical invention of the imagined individual revolutionary citizen. With the passport, the circulation and authentication of citizen and image became one, with important ramifications for later processes of identification. I conceptualise both the passport and its near opposite the commemorative certificate in relation to both 'honorific' portraiture, and the representation of criminal 'type' and 'race' figured in physiognomy, in order to demonstrate that the meaning of the passport was far from fixed at this time. Indeed, throughout the Revolution the passport's associations swung between the twin poles of repression and more elevated principles of liberty. Compared to the bearer at each checkpoint, and supplemented by additional stamps, signatures and accounts, the description on the passport demonstrated the extent to which individual freedom of movement and individual identity was dependent upon the bearer's visibility and upon a complex process of authorship.

In my final chapter, I examine a range of images and objects which work in some way as games. A characterisation of a made image as a game, of course, risks vaguely unifying objects whose functions are in fact dissimilar, and indeed this is appropriate, for a classification as 'jeu' served even in the Revolution to obscure differences between virtuous pedagogical and propagandistic games and baser, illegal and opportunistic games of risk, a mystification exploited by gamblers. Illegal gambling was, as earlier in the eighteenth-century, subject to surveillance and prohibition under the Revolution, but after 1789 existing models of policing

were inflected with the language of revolutionary concerns about political transparency motivated by fresh paranoia about speculation and Counter-Revolution. In every instance, the surveillance of gambling went hand-in-hand with the desire to avoid detection. In contrast, I examine the ways in which game culture was appropriated by the Revolution to express its higher philosophical aims, through designs for playing cards and board games, media derided and proscribed in other contexts. Like festival *cortèges*, games ritualise circulation, of money and individual fortune. They do so via an awareness of the different ways of looking which are essential to game cultures, and which were allied to distinct political affiliations. Just as a categorisation as 'game' elides distinction, so it also allows for a wider understanding of the processes and contradictions which underlay thinking about games, and revolutionary prints in general. Trompe-l'oeil representations of the recently devalued and destroyed assignats produced after 1796 fetishise the act of looking via the generic formal devices upon which this form of representation relies. However, they also specifically refer back to the processes of ensnarement and subterfuge which underlay the original visuality of the assignats themselves. I argue that these images, and the prints they memorialise, are thoroughly ludic, in that the political struggles they materialise are based upon ways of looking which dramatise the risk of being tricked, and an acknowledged risk of failure – especially pertinent in the post-Thermidor context of the Revolution's grisly departure from principle.

* * *

When making a case, as I do here, that print culture during the Revolution was in some sense novel, or distinct, it is essential to outline in exactly what ways the French Revolution may be considered 'revolutionary'. As the historian Isser Woloch has observed, in support of Tocqueville's proposal that many of the Revolution's perceived innovations were in fact continuations of eighteenth-century developments, 'No one [now] sees the Revolution as marking a comprehensive discontinuity in the fabric of French history.'[7] Colin Jones, too, has warned against

[7] I.Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s*, New York and London, 1994, p. 13. This debate is played out in two recent articles which offer comprehensive and contentious accounts of the current state of revolutionary historiography, and of the possibility in this context of imagining the Revolution as 'Modern'. L.Hunt, 'The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution', *American Historical Review*, vol 108, issue 1, February 2003, pp.

imagining the eighteenth century as a time of unity and uncomplicated decrepitude as a foil to the Revolution's perceived 'newness', in other words, of using the post-1792 neologism 'Ancien Régime' as an analytical category.[8]

The debate over the Revolution's origins and its difference from or similarity to that which preceded it has been the central concern of revolutionary historiography for the past two hundred years, and the assumptions made in support of each position have conditioned Marxist, revisionist and post-revisionist histories of the Revolution. It is an inescapable fact that the images and objects I discuss were not comprehensive innovations of the Revolution, but had clear precedents earlier in the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, it is a central premise of this thesis that the meaning of these images did in fact change in the revolutionary period, and that this change in meaning was often dependent upon, or coincident with, a material and formal transformation. I am aware, of course, that this position risks accusations of teleology and of promoting a certain revolutionary essentialism, in which the history of the eighteenth century is viewed through the lens of a seemingly inevitable Revolution, and that it unites and reduces under the singular heading 'Revolution' multiple and contingent shifts in power and meaning. I have tried at all points to complicate this monolithic conception of the Revolution, and in fact my reading of revolutionary print culture aims to demonstrate complexity and conflict rather than neat divisions.

For whilst the Revolution could not have been imagined until 1789, as is mistakenly implied by teleological readings, it is certain that once begun it coloured every aspect of French political and cultural life. In terms of analysis of transition, in the ensuing chapters I have concentrated more on the move from a revolutionary to post-revolutionary political and visual culture, although a fuller examination of the pre-revolutionary origins of prints of this type remains a story well worth telling. I aim to consider these images within the specific and localised context of their production and use during the Revolution, whilst suggesting some of the ways in which the *revolutionary* use of these images altered their future meaning, and the ways these images worked upon the memory of the Revolution. Whilst not wishing

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1-19 and R.Spang, 'Paradigms and Paranoia: How Modern is the French Revolution?', *The American Historical Review*, vol 108, issue 1, February 2003, pp. 119-147.

to repeat revolutionary rhetoric about an across-the-board separation from the past, I do not believe that the prints I discuss are, as yet, sufficiently enshrined within a tradition of art history relating to the Revolution to require a mandatory contextualisation across French history. The Revolution was itself, it should be remembered, a complicated if accelerated *process*, rather than an event concluded on 14th July 1789, and as such it provides its own rich context. Furthermore, even if the material form of these prints did not alter during the Revolution (and in practically every case it did), their significance certainly changed. Whether this was a result of genuine novelty or of an altered appraisal, or denial, of all Ancien-Régime inheritances, varies from case to case, but across the board the Revolution changed the meanings and potentials of objects and images. Wily printmakers, certainly, recognised this change, as tiny alterations in iconography or legend could render saleable a previously conventional, or even condemned image.

Assignats, for instance, fulfilled a radically different function to pre-revolutionary paper money, which was restricted in aim and quantity, and which at no point achieved the seismic cultural and economic importance of its short-lived revolutionary incarnation. Furthermore, these aspects of the assignat's difference from previous models of money-making were linked to its material and formal properties, as technologies were invented or harnessed in new ways to deal with the sheer amount of notes requiring printing, with the new opportunities afforded for propaganda offered by the assignat and in response to an onslaught of anti-revolutionary counterfeiting.

Likewise, revolutionary festivals, whilst drawing heavily upon the formats of military, royal and religious processions, as well as more prosaic carnival celebrations, were in fact conceptually distinct, and were understood as such by their designers, participants, and the artists involved in representing them. Representations of festivals had much in common in form and function with religious Confraternity prints, but – and this is an important if obvious point – they were *not* Confraternity prints, they were representations of a secular event perceived as entirely novel, commemorating an unprecedented Revolution. Passports, in turn, changed in fundamental ways during the revolutionary period, especially after 1791.

[8] C.Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon*, London, 2002, p. xx.

The introduction and standardisation in 1792 of universal personal descriptions on passports marked a profound shift in techniques of identification in France, whilst the debates surrounding the use of passports paralleled wider revolutionary concerns about the extent to which individual liberty should be maintained. Finally, the use of games during the Revolution, whilst often demonstrating formal difference only with regard to the iconographic innovations of Republican propaganda (illegal games requiring no such adornment, save as camouflage), mobilised a range of anxieties about the status of viewing and viewership which were unique to the political circumstances of the Revolution. It is a contention of this thesis that rather than merely reflecting the altered political and social conditions brought about by the Revolution, prints played an active role in the formation of those very conditions.

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Conventional categories such as 'ephemera' or even 'revolutionary print culture' have failed to accommodate the difference in production and use visible in these images, flattening out variation and contradiction in form and motivation. Nonetheless, in recent years printed images from the period have become an accepted if superficial and unproblematised commonplace of revolutionary histories. The 'cultural turn' in revolutionary historiography, exemplified by the work of, amongst others, Lynn Hunt, Mona Ozouf and Michel Vovelle, inaugurated an analysis of revolutionary material cultures which accentuated their collaborative agency within a political culture of the Revolution to which they had for so long been considered marginal.[9] Roughly coincident with these shifts in emphasis, the work of, in particular, Robert Darnton, Carla Hesse, Claudette Hould, Claude Langlois and James Leith has vastly aided our knowledge of the mechanisms of the publishing and print-making trades before during the Revolution, and made us familiar with many key texts, images and debates.[10] An increased attention to images, especially printed images, has characterised the recent work of historians

[9] See: L.Hunt ed., *The New Cultural History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989.

[10] See, in particular, the catalogue for an exhibition held at the New York Public Library in 1989, containing essays by many of the above-mentioned scholars. The catalogue and exhibition aimed to find out, in Robert Darnton's words, how 'the printing press served as the main instrument in the creation of a new political culture' (p. xiv), in short, how it made an 'impression': R.Darnton and D.Roche eds., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775-1800*, exh. cat., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989.

such as Joan Landes or Antoine de Baecque, albeit often in relation to the more familiar operations of printed text.[11] Meanwhile, art historians as varied as Ewa Lajer-Burcharth and Richard Wrigley have paid explicit attention, respectively, and in very different ways, to the psychic economy of spectatorship and the political implications of appearance during the revolutionary period – although neither focus on print.[12]

I address specific debates and literature relating to my case studies and to more general historiographical themes in greater depth in each chapter, suffice to say that the past thirty years have seen an increased awareness of the role of imagery in the Revolution. This parallels a more general trend amongst historians, who increasingly include aspects of 'material culture' as part of their analysis of more 'serious' subjects. In many cases this remains at the level of illustration, which has dramatically increased in history textbooks, partly as a consequence of improved reproductive technologies and the incorporation of a wider range of media into the learning process, but also as a result of the paradigm shifts outlined above. Some historians, influenced perhaps by the example of prominent historians such as Hunt or Vovelle, have begun to address images in their own right, although they generally remain subaltern to the 'real history'. Interestingly, however, it remains historians who have, more than art historians, paid a more sustained attention to the print culture of the Revolution.

Many bicentennial projects in 1989 were complemented by exhibitions of revolutionary prints, for instance that curated by James Cuno at the Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Los Angeles, or the exhibition led by Claudette Hould at the Université de Quebec, Montréal. Exhibitions such as these, in conjunction with the much heralded, if slightly too-inclusive exhibition of revolutionary material at the Grand Palais in Paris, were joined by a flurry of writing on revolutionary subjects, much of which addressed more humble printed material (available to many exhibitions at the same time!) rather than the better-known

[11] J.Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, Ithaca, NY and London, 2001 and A.de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France 1770-1800*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell, Stanford, CA, 1997.
[12] E.Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*, New Haven and London, 1999 and R.Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*, Oxford and New York, 2002.

examples of revolutionary painting, which nevertheless also underwent a revival, with the publication of many new books on prominent artists such as David. For the past ten years, the trail has gone cold – little has been published explicitly addressing the subject of print in the Revolution, and the field appears to have reverted to its pre-bicentennial state of quietude.[13]

Furthermore, many of the images I discuss, particularly assignats, passports and games, remain the preserve of a specialised, connoisseurial yet ultimately reductive form of interpretation. Numismatics and related archival specialisms fixate on iconography and the dating of objects as dual determinants of subjective 'quality', viewing their subjects in isolation from any kind of social or historical context and resolutely refusing to treat them as images comparable to any other. These studies provide a wealth of information, although their approach is very different to the one I take here. James Leith has been practically unique amongst art historians for tackling subjects including games and assignats as independent aspects of revolutionary print culture, whilst the visuality of passports, as with most bureaucratic documents, has been entirely ignored.[14] Only representations of festivals have received some attention, no doubt due to their eccentric visual appeal and their status as figurative art works. Even here, there has been little or no attempt to consider the relationship between what is represented and the form of representation, and prints of festivals are treated as passive and impartial documents of an event.

For the most part, the images I discuss are outside of the field of 'art', and I have no interest in falsely rehabilitating them within a category with which they merge intermittently, but from which they are institutionally and functionally distinct. As Philippe Bordes observes, the Revolution inverted traditional artistic distinctions and hierarchies, effecting a situation in which 'Le graveur populaire de la rue Saint-Jacques est mieux armé pour s'adapter au rythme accéléré de l'histoire qu'un

[13] There are of course exceptions, such as the excellent catalogue for the exhibition *La Révolution par la gravure: les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, exh. cat. Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 2002.

[14] J.A.Leith, 'Clio and the Goose: The *Jeu de l'Oie* as Historical Evidence' in: C.W.White ed. *Essays in European History. Selected from the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association 1990-1991*, vol. three, Lanham, New York and London, 1996, pp. 227-262; J.A.Leith, 'Ephemera: Civic Education Through Images' in: R.Darnton and D.Roche eds., op. cit., p. 270-289; J.Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750-1799*, Toronto, 1965.

David, *peintre d'histoire.*'[15] Neither would many of the images I discuss have been recognised as art in the print market which, during the Revolution, was concentrated in the triangle formed between the Palais Royal, rue Saint-Jacques and the Tuileries, although they would have maintained a continual presence there and elsewhere as mediums of circulation or exchange. However, as I argue, assignats, certificates, passports and games were recognised as images in their own right, sustaining a powerful visual currency which led to their representation in a variety of figurative prints, from caricatures to topographical 'historical' engravings, which I have discussed where relevant, and particularly when they mediate a transient or print-related subject matter. I have preferred not to use the word 'ephemera' in this thesis, a vague umbrella term with generally negative associations, although I do describe certain events and objects as 'ephemeral'. Whereas the former term unites a range of different types of printed paper, the latter term suggests a strictly temporal value judgement which encourages specification rather than generalisation.[16] Throughout, I have followed the position (if not the methodology) outlined by Pierre Bourdieu, who argued that:

> [...] one cannot fully understand cultural practices unless 'culture', in the restricted, normative sense of ordinary usage, is brought back into 'culture' in the anthropological sense, and the elaborated taste for the most refined objects is reconnected with the elementary taste for the flavours of food.[17]

Visual culture, this model suggests, may be a category widened to include not only a group of images and objects, but also the processes, desires and ideologies which support them and which construct their meanings. Acts of consumption, within which we may count looking at images, may be examined as constitutive not only of paintings and sculptures, but non-art objects, such as the money used to buy them.

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[15] P.Bordes, 'L'Art de la Révolution française', *Revue de l'Art*, no. 62, 1983, p. 76.

[16] See, in contrast: M.Rickards and M.Twyman eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Ephemera*, London, 2000. The designation of paper money as ephemera is largely predicated upon an assumption that it is ephemeral to that body of objects validated as 'art', rather than being marginal in terms of its general usage or meaning. Given the influence of the assignat on the economic development of France in the nineteenth century, an understanding of ephemera as transitory or insignificant appears incorrect. J.Leith, 'Ephemera: Civic Education Through Images' in: R.Darnton and D.Roche eds., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*, California, 1989, pp. 270-289 contradicts its title by presenting an analysis of paper culture in the Revolution which shows it to be anything but ephemeral.

Yet this is not really a 'history from below', for many of the images I address were made by and for the state, or else for powerful and well-funded anti-revolutionary interests. In many cases, it is the very excess of these images which has obscured them from our view, a quantity which has both ensured their survival and limited their visibility as objects of study. The production of images in large quantities by the revolutionary legislature gives us a fair idea of what successive governments desired to make known or change in the French people, but it also allows us access to how people responded to the revolutionary state and what they recognised or subverted in the images made in their name. Clearly, any attempt to determine how people from the past saw things is fraught with methodological dangers, suggesting an unrealisable positivism, and provoking similarities with the totalising imperatives of the *Annales* school and their ambitious but doomed analysis of *mentalités*. Certainly, we now recognise that history tells us as much about its writers as its subjects. However, in discussing a period in which, negotiating a position in relation to the rupture effected by Revolution, people wrote and represented their own and other histories with fluent self-regard, we are forced to acknowledge the centrality of spectatorship in the Revolution, and to re-interrogate its material expressions as mediums of historical manipulation. Put simply, these images were made to be seen and, quite often, to trick the viewer, either into belief or an admission of disbelief. They provide our most reliable source for how people saw, or were intended to see, during the Revolution. Meanwhile the 'massification' and circulation of these images suggests a belief that their effects could be universal, a conviction tempered, as we shall see, by anxiety over the limits on individual circulation and the Revolution's potential to institute stasis, to 'freeze' as Saint-Just put it, at both a political and material level.[18]

This thesis expands upon the work of previous authors to examine the correspondences between the material facture and meanings of what Linda Nochlin, unable to avoid qualitative judgement, has described as 'an odd assortment of second-rate portraits [...] historiated toby jugs and indecipherable coarse-grained prints.'[19] It differs from other projects in its analysis of the co-dependence of circulation and spectatorship as actions constituted by these objects, isolating four

[17] P.Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice, London, 1999 [1979], p. 1.
[18] 'La Révolution est glacée'. A.Saint-Just, *Oeuvres choisies*, Paris, 1968, p. 330.

specific but inter-related examples to suggest that print culture, in particular, provided a medium-specific means of articulating anxieties of looking and being looked at, offering at the same time a unique format for the 'fabrication' of political identities.

Looking at the Revolution

When Louis-Sébastien Mercier looked into the future he imagined the following state of affairs:

> La gravure est aussi féconde et aussi heureuse que la typographie: elle a l'avantage de multiplier les épreuves, comme l'imprimerie ses exemplaires, et par son moyen chaque particulier, chaque étranger peut se procurer une copie rivale de tableau. Tous les citoyens décoraient sans jalousie leurs murailles de ces sujets intéressants qui présentaient des exemples de vertus et d'héroïsme [...] D'ailleurs la gravure était devenue très utile à l'État par le commerce d'estampes qu'on faisait dans les pays étrangers, et c'était de ces artistes qu'on pouvait dire: sous leurs heureuses mains le cuivre devient or.[20]

The year may have been 2440, but Mercier's prophetic account of the transformative qualities of print, its ability to constitute a market defined by competition, and its potential use to both individual and state were not, as we shall see, such a distant dream. Although the artists' 'happiness', public lack of jealousy and the morally uplifting quality of the prints described remind us of the utopian character of the passage's publication, even here we are not so far from the political rhetoric of 1790s France.[21] Any analysis of revolutionary print culture must acknowledge the degree to which it was a product of its pre-revolutionary incarnations, for despite the transformations of iconography, purpose and market which the Revolution brought about, it did not effect a wholesale rupture.[22] Statistical exploration by Daniel Roche has shown that nine years prior to the Revolution the average servant or below-average wage earner possessed an average

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[19] L.Nochlin, 'Fragments of a Revolution', *Art in America*, October 1989, p. 157.

[20] L.-S.Mercier, *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante. Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, Bordeaux, 1971 [1776], pp. 321-323.

[21] 'Jalousie' can also be translated as a type of curtain of blind. In this context, a lack of 'jalousie' could therefore also indicate a certain utopian openness, or transparency, signifying a belief in the free display of imagery which ran counter to current practices of political censorship.

[22] R.Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane, Durham and London, 1991, discusses the pre-revolutionary role of the printing trade.

6.4 prints or paintings per household.[23] Many of these were no doubt devotional images, issued on a regular basis by churches or Confraternities, accounting for a degree of passive accumulation with each new instalment. Nevertheless, it is clear that prints of a greater or lesser quality were available to a wide sector of society during this period, often for a small cost. If not possessed they were certainly available in abundance to view in the publishers' windows of Paris.[24] Of course, these statistics do not account for the mass-produced images with which I am principally concerned, which were universally owned and circulated, albeit in many cases as representatives of a different kind of 'value'. Nevertheless, in the early years of the Revolution, with the inundation of the market with affordable images of revolutionary subjects, specifically those of the Federation and the storming of the Bastille, and with the relaxation of censorship, commodified printed images achieved a widespread currency as the visual capital of the devout revolutionary.

In this category of figurative imagery, print histories of the Revolution in progress were aimed at diverse, economically contingent markets. From the crude line etchings adorning pamphlets, broadsides or the pages of journals of all persuasions, from the pro-Republican *Révolutions de Paris* to the royalist *Actes des Apôtres*, to finely worked engravings printed at a large scale on fine paper, revolutionary prints took many forms, and were inherently multi-voiced. At a material level, prints regularly combined more than one technique in the same image, and artists frequently simulated labour-intensive and expensive engravings in a relatively cheap technique such as etching. Alongside the mass of images documenting or otherwise supporting the Revolution, print sellers often, at least in the Revolution's initial phase, sold side by side prints of traditional subject matter, or even explicitly counter-revolutionary material. Naturally, the definition of 'counter-revolutionary' is unstable. Applied with increasing regularity from the Revolution's inception, like 'propaganda', it functions as a term of difference, always what the 'other side' does, for as Laura Mason has pointed out: 'political culture was not the sole possession of revolutionary legislators and cultural elites. It was instead a contested terrain over which countless individuals and political factions struggled, unable to

[23] D.Roche, *The People of Paris*, trans. by Marie Evans, Leamington Spa, 1987, p. 223.
[24] For an excellent account of the diversity of print culture during the Revolution see: T.Gretton, 'Representing the Revolution', *History Today*, vol. 39, May 1989, pp. 39-50.

agree and therefore unable to end the Revolution.'[25] This thesis works from an assumption that any history of revolutionary print culture demands a reading of counter-revolutionary print production, and that the two were at all points mutually constitutive categories.

Throughout the eighteenth century many literary *histoires des révolutions* were produced in France as a means of conceptualising the histories of other countries in terms of temporary or cyclical revolutions whose meaning was established in comparison with the stability of absolute monarchy. Apart from exceptions such as Mably's *Observations sur l'histoire de France*, few works referred to France in these terms.[26] After 1789 the word 'revolution' became 'Revolution', a transformation which reflected an understanding of the French Revolution as permanent and continuous, a transition evidenced by the popularity of representational print histories. For instance, the long-running series *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, which incorporated texts by prominent figures including, at various times, the aphorist Sébastien-Roch-Nicolas Chamfort, the Abbé Fauchet and Pierre-Louis Ginguené, was sold in conjunction with a large intaglio print of the scene or event described, by artists including Prieur, Swebach-Desfontaines, Fragonard fils and Duplessi-Bertaux. The prints, which were fairly expensive, were sold individually or as part of a series, and used to decorate politically partisan spaces, such as Jacobin clubs, as well as patriotic homes around the country.[27]

The *Tableaux historiques* and their competition, such as Abraham Girardet, Lépine and Vény's *Tableaux gravés des principaux événements de la Révolution Française*, were notable for the manner in which their format subordinated text to image, prioritising revolutionary participation as an act of witnessing. As David McCallam points out, the texts of the series betray this emphasis:

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[25] L.Mason, *Singing the Revolution*, Ithaca and London, 1996, p. 7.
[26] See: K.M.Baker, 'Revolution' in: C.Lucas ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, Vol 2: The Political Culture of the French Revolution*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 41-62.
[27] D.McCallam, *Chamfort and the French Revolution: A Study in Form and Ideology*, Oxford, 2002, p. 63.

> Descended from the tableaux of painting and the theatre, and following those of Mercier, Chamfort's historical tableaux are to be defined as texts that constitute their reader rhetorically as a spectator. For the same reasons, the presentation of their spectacles privileges the visual. Thus their reader is initially positioned as a spectator in relation to these events by devices such as 'on voyait' or 'on a vu'. At the same time this visual fix on the event in question signifies in advance that it is a 'spectacle' worth watching.[28]

The *Tableaux historiques* format and its cheaper imitations in journals and on broadsheets offered a sober and relatively 'high-art' alternative to the proliferation of caricatures, which essentially accentuated difference, whereas the narrative print history encouraged emulation. Usually etched, caricatures could be produced quicker than these large historical engravings, which often took several years to appear, allowing for a more contemporary take on events. Perhaps for this reason the latter increasingly steered towards potentially less politically contentious subjects such as battle scenes, which their large in-folio format and 'collectable' pretensions suited.

Certainly, narrative print histories of the Revolution tell us a great deal, not only about what things looked like in the 1790s, but also about what self-presentations appealed directly to the aspirations and desires of their audiences. On the face of it their apparent topographical candour and chronological clarity make for an alluringly straightforward historical narrative, presented in a self-consciously visual format. However, as we shall see, figurative prints of the Revolution are far from objective, and may be read against more humble prints, from money to certificates, which, by virtue of their function, materialise a more pressing dialogue between truth and falsehood.

Michel Foucault has made us aware of the repressive act of surveillance as it developed from the mid-eighteenth to twentieth century – public executions retreating to be replaced by the less obviously violent, but ultimately more punitive practices of psychiatry, general medicine, prison and other forms of 'treatment' – a change embodied most succinctly by the ocular symbolism and continuous gaze of

[28] D.McCallam, ibid., p. 70.

Bentham's Panopticon.[29] In the late eighteenth century, sight was an issue which mobilised a variety of meanings, both positive and negative, ranging from a philosophical rationalisation of the moral implications of sensory deprivation in Diderot's *Letter on the Blind for the Use of those who See* to the emotive image of Belisarius begging for alms.[30] Two images, Garneray and Quéverdo's letterhead for the Committee of Public Safety (Ill. 0.1) and an anonymous vignette at the head of a *sauf-conduit* for the executive council of the Ministry of the Interior (Ill. 0.2), a form of identity document issued to the governor Simon Safile on 19 fructidor year II (5th September 1793), embody this ambivalence. The former, featuring an eye on a tricolore banner supported by an oversized fasces, held by a club-wielding *sans-culotte* 'Liberty', is a militarised emblem of state surveillance, whilst the blindfolded woman on the *sauf-conduit* figures as a symbol of impartial justice. The blindfolding of the woman in representation suggests that the document is imagined not only as receiving a gaze, but as potentially emitting one, a feature popularised by the scopic iconography of the eye initiated by the Cordeliers club and made explicit in the letterhead for the Committee of Public Safety.[31] Both images represent the close scrutiny of the individual by the state, as do the documents on which they are printed, essentially, a bureaucratic gaze and its frustration are employed to the same ends.

In an image published after the end of the Jacobin Terror, titled *The French People, or the Regime of Robespierre* (Ill. 0.3), the trope of a transformed or obscured visuality is used again. In this image the man playing blind-man's buff under a placard proclaiming 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité, La Mort' unwittingly blunders towards an unequivocal representation of death in skeletal form, clutching a scythe. Here blindness figures as a historical condition, a parody and parallel of the image

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[29] M.Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan, London, 1991 [1975]. See also: J.Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, MA, 1990.

[30] D.Diderot, 'Letter on the Blind for the Use of those who See' in: D.Diderot, *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Nature and Other Philosophical Works*, trans. by Margaret Jourdain, Manchester, 1999 [1749] pp. 147-200. The motif of the eye has always had multiple symbolic meanings, from the 'evil' eye to its use in Christian or masonic ritual. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth notes the psychic import of the eye as it appeared in Republican iconography, in: E.Lajer-Burcharth, op. cit., especially pp. 71-129.

[31] At the festival of 10th August 1793, the popular societies carried a banner featuring an open eye penetrating and dissipating a dense fog. One *procès-verbal* remarked on the dual significations of this 'signe rassurant et menaçant.' *Procès-verbal des monumens, de la marche, et des discours de la fête consacrée à l'inauguration de la Constitution de la République Française, le 10 août 1793*, Paris, 1793, p. 6.

of 'justice' attached to identity documents in the year II, now taken as representative of the situation of France under the Robespierrist regime. The images discussed in this thesis centre on the ambiguities of spectatorship during this period, its appropriation for competing political meanings, and print culture's simultaneous attraction and refusal of the gaze. Furthermore, paying particular attention to the role of the archive and the 'document' during this period, I will examine how revolutionary print culture and the ways of looking with which it was associated, were adopted, as this last image demonstrates, as a medium of historical memory.

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A last word on periodisation and locality. The structure of this thesis is thematic, rather than chronological. I have chosen, with some porosity at either end, to begin this study in 1789 and to end it roughly at 1799, largely in obedience to conventions of revolutionary time-keeping and for limitations of length. It goes without saying that such narrow historicisation is false, especially in the context of a temporally complex process such as the French Revolution, whose origins are found long before the storming of the Bastille, and whose significance expands well into the future. In many cases objects I discuss such as money, identity documents and festivals, all become more formalised in the Napoleonic period than during the First Republic, increasing in worldwide importance with the rise of industrial capitalism and the nineteenth century's cycle of Revolutions. None of this would have been possible, however, without the first French Revolution's eagerness to 'regenerate' its symbolic language and all areas of administration, art and ritual.

This is also a study of circulation, its literal and symbolic effect on and within print culture, and as such it would be remiss geographically to locate my discussion too rigidly. Nonetheless, with similar reservations I have concentrated this study on events which took place in Paris, where the majority of existing images were produced and sold; although at several points, such as my discussion of passports, this has been neither possible nor desirable.[32]

[32] Our conception of French Revolutionary print culture is, admittedly, formed by the tastes of a few nineteenth-century collectors, de Vinck, Hennin and Destailleur, whose collections form the basis of the Bibliothèque nationale's *Cabinet d'Estampes*.

A final remark. I began this thesis in September 2000. Since the bombing of the World Trade Center a year later, the fallout of the 'War on Terror' has again brought issues of surveillance, violence, terrorism, paranoia, nationalism, corruption, state secularism, human rights, 'Republicanism' and identity documentation to the fore. Since that time we have also become more aware of the technologies of representation which have structured our responses to recent events, from a pack of cards representing Iraq's 'Most Wanted' (Ill. 0.4), widely circulated as propaganda amongst American troops, to the controversies of representation (Abu-Ghraib prison, videos of hostage executions) and non-representation (Guantanamo Bay, WMDs) in the mass media. At no time has a historical perspective on these issues been more necessary, and I have consistently been struck by the parallels with the 1790s, if on a far more sinister global scale.

One day in summer 2004, emerging from my tube station, I was offered a leaflet with familiar imagery, advertising a forthcoming protest by a Muslim group against European-wide secularism, Islamophobia and biometric control, provoked by the banning of religious clothing in French schools (Ill. 0.5). The image of a guillotine looms large on the leaflet, the French Revolution figuring as a symbol of intolerance and, reversing racist assumptions of guilt, *state*-sponsored Terror. At the same time it stands for the 'liberty' which American and British governments claim to be defending in our name. Somewhere between the two, the print media of the Revolution, around which were formed and resolved anxieties over transparency, the movement of individuals, the permanence of a political system, financial stability and non-specific 'enemy Others', offer an echo from the past with which we might contextualise recent events.

Quotations in French retain their original spelling. Revolutionary writers and their typesetters worked fast, so a certain amount of mistakes is inevitable.

CHAPTER ONE

Assignats and Agency

Anatole France's historical novel *Les Dieux ont soif*, published in 1912 and translated into English as *The Gods are Thirsty*, or *The Gods Will have Blood*, is a rip-roaring yarn of love and duty set during the period of the Terror. The pivotal scene of the book, the first meeting of the main protagonists, the young lovers Évariste Gamelin, a Jacobin magistrate and ex-pupil of David, and a printseller's daughter, Élodie Blaise, runs as follows:

> After stopping for a moment in front of the *Amour Peintre* [the name of Élodie's father's print shop], as if to take a deep breath, Évariste lifted the hasp on the door. He found Citizeness Élodie, having just sold a couple of engravings by Fragonard *fils* and by Naigeon, carefully chosen from many others, anxiously holding up to the light the *assignats* received in payment, to examine with her beautiful eyes the delicate and intricate curves and lines of the watermark before locking them up in the cash-box, for business was being ruined by the large number of forged notes that were being circulated [...] Élodie was constantly in fear of receiving bad money and in even greater fear of passing it on.[1]

This chapter seeks to situate Élodie's 'anxiety', and her fear of circulating 'bad money', against the historical and material context of paper-money production during the French Revolution, a context defined by a spectatorial encounter between subject and image. France's description highlights perfectly the excessively visual character of the money in question, the assignat, issued in 1789 in response to a financial crisis inherited by the Revolution. The assignat was subjected to a fierce, and, as I shall argue, politically motivated gaze, which, through its mobilisation of bodily metaphor, and by virtue of its position at the heart of contemporary debates about political legitimacy, played an important role in the construction of both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary identities. Furthermore, between these somewhat reductive binaries of revolutionary engagement is a range of more subtle motivations, which, I argue, the assignat articulates via the conditions of its production and use, as well as in its iconography and subsequent representation.

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[1] A.France, *The Gods Will Have Blood*, trans. by Frederick Davies, Harmondsworth, 1979 [1912], p. 45.

That the scene takes place between a painter and a printseller in an environment dedicated to the circulation of images accentuates further this visual emphasis. When Élodie held the assignats up to the light to check their watermarks, she would have been confronted with a bewildering range of visual and textual information, the incorrect interpretation of which could result in penal measures, political disenfranchisement or most immediately, personal financial loss. The intense scrutiny with which Élodie examined the assignats could swiftly be replaced by an equally concentrated institutional surveillance, should she be found to have accepted and circulated counterfeits. Her anxiety is keenly felt. Fiction this may be, but appropriately so, given the prominence in this narrative of multivalent discources of fabrication, both legitimate and illegal. Furthermore, it resonates with contemporary accounts from a broad range of real individuals and institutions, all of whom, on a daily basis, looked hard at the material support of this new national currency (Ill. 1.1).[2]

Each note issued required a different design, although the formal variation to which the assignat was subjected disguises certain features common to all. Roughly rectangular pieces of paper of varying dimensions and quality, assignats generally conformed to a basic scheme of a printed frame or border, enclosing a blank space within which were arranged a fluctuating series of signs, indicating value and legitimacy. Amongst these may be counted at various times either one or two royal portraits (Ill. 1.2); a signature, either manuscript or printed; a mechanically generated number; a date of issue, in Gregorian or Republican calendar, sometimes both; a watermark (Ill. 1.3); a 'dry' or embossed inkless stamp; an 'identical' stamp, reproduced in the same place on the verso side; diverse Republican insignia; and the ever-present warning 'the law punishes the counterfeiter with death/the nation rewards the informer.'[3] The aesthetic of the border of the assignat ran from a pared-

[2] The assignat is, I believe, one of the few areas of print production where it is fairly safe to generalise about the spectatorial encounters experienced by the vast majority who did not leave printed records. Those who did so (and there are many), concur at least on the importance of verification – whether as a safeguard to honest payment, or, from a counterfeiter's perspective, as an aspect to be overcome. Whether because of interest in their novelty or to ensure their integrity, it seems highly probable that the majority of citizens would have examined their assignats closely.

[3] On the 5th May 1791, Armand Gaston Camus proposed that two million livres attributed to the Treasury should be used to reward informers. The contradictions inherent in promoting this form of 'virtuous' dissimulation were outweighed by the use of such denunciations to the nation. On

down classicism (Ill. 1.4) to a more overtly decorative effect (Ill. 1.5). This frame offered a structure for further signs, from fleurs-de-lys to fasces, Henri IV to Hercules. Furthermore, each assignat acted as a repository of printing techniques, combining a variety of approaches from standard copper engraving to more subtle means of imprinting authority and authenticity on the note, many of which, watermarks and dry stamps in particular, worked directly on and within the body of the assignat.

The correspondence in France's text between Élodie's 'beautiful' eyes and the 'delicate' intricacy of the watermark is not accidental. As this brief account of their variety demonstrates, assignats were made to be looked at, and sometimes, as with one twenty-five sols note from 1792, featuring at the top a prominent, radiating eye, they looked straight back (Ill. 1.6).[4] Rarely assessed by art historians, and then solely in terms of either the 'high art' aspect of stamps engraved by the likes of Dupré or Gatteaux,[5] or in relation to the technical complexities of their production alone,[6] printed paper notes have, as a chapter of economic history,[7] been otherwise accorded an existence virtually independent of their material status. I do not wish to disregard any of these approaches, for paper money must be understood as the sum of both its parts, both 'paper' and 'money'; use and exchange value. I would like, however, to incorporate this great forgotten component of revolutionary visual culture[8] into the study of a broader subject, privileging paper money as a uniquely visual form which negotiates wider revolutionary concerns; 'l'emblème majeur de

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conspiracy and denunciation as a trope of revolutionary rhetoric see: G.T.Cubitt, 'Denouncing Conspiracy in the French Revolution', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, no. 33, 1989, pp. 143-158.

[4] In the 1790s there were twenty sous in one livre. Twenty-four livres were at this point worth roughly one English pound.

[5] See for instance: J.Veyrin-Forrer and A.Mercier, 'Contribution à l'étude iconographique des assignats', *Nouvelles de l'éstampe*, no. 106, July – August 1989, pp. 25-37.

[6] For comprehensive surveys of the assignats' manufacture see: J.Lafaurie, *Les Assignats et les papiers-monnaies émis par l'état au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1981; A.Mercier, *L'argent des révolutionnaires*, exh. cat., Musée National des Techniques, Paris, 1989; M.Muszynski, *Les Assignats de la Révolution française*, Bruyeres-le-Chatel, 1981; and B.Rizo, *L'Assignat et la Révolution*, Carcassonne, 1989.

[7] The classic account of the economic history of the assignat may be found in S.E.Harris, *The Assignats*, New York, 1930. Even self-consciously materialist accounts of the Revolution, particularly those produced by Marxist or Marxist-influenced scholars, have failed to take account of this anomaly.

[8] Manuela Albertone has attempted a partial rehabilitation of the assignat by documenting the course of its 'forgotten history' since the Revolution, although any revival of interpretation is tempered by an approach which internalises this lacuna within the domain of historical writing. See: M.Albertone, 'Une histoire oubliée: les assignats dans l'historiographie', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 287, January-March 1992, pp. 87-104.

la Révolution,' as one historian has, in a different context, described it.[9] Conventionally, if not intentionally marginalised by numismatic formalism, economic essentialism or the pejorative vernacular of 'ephemera', the cultural and ideological impact of the assignat, its particular status as image, is seldom addressed.[10]

In her father's print shop, Élodie's main concern was to establish by visual means, the agency of the assignat. In other words, armed with a knowledge of the various meanings which *could* be attributable to this piece of paper, some good, some bad, some indeterminate, she aimed to discover what, in fact, it was. According to Armand-Désiré d'Aiguillon, duc de Vignerot-Duplessis-Richelieu, this most obvious question should be the first asked, as its answer would inevitably compromise all further discussion on the subject. 'Qu'est-ce que les *assignats*?'[11] he demanded of himself and his reader, at a point in the lengthy debates on paper money in the early years of the Revolution, when it was unclear what form it would take. D'Aiguillon, a notorious cross-dresser, would have been particularly aware that truth and falsehood were, so to speak, two sides of the same coin, a fact of which he was repeatedly appraised by the satirical press (Ill. 1.7). Six days earlier, on the 9th April 1790, Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours had put the same question to the Constituent Assembly during a session which resulted in the decision to issue four hundred million printed paper notes – assignats – whose value was based on the sale of confiscated church land.[12]

Providing the Revolution with much needed financial support, the assignats nevertheless suffered a catastrophic depreciation, beginning as early as 1791 and culminating in their final withdrawal and ritual burning, along with the technology used for their production, on pluviôse year IV (19th February 1796), in the *ci-devant*

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[9] M.Bruguière, 'Assignats' in: F.Furet and M.Ozouf eds., *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française: institutions et créations*, Paris, 1992, p. 59. Bruguière is here remarking on the assignats' centrality to perceptions of the Revolution's *economic* success or failure.

[10] An exception is Jean Bouchary's work on the counterfeiting of notes during the Revolution. Although Bouchary does not discuss the iconography or symbolism of the assignat at any great length, concentrating instead on legal history, his documentation of the measures employed for and against counterfeiting takes seriously a neglected topic, and has been a useful reference. J.Bouchary, *Les faux-monnayeurs sous la Révolution française*, Paris, 1946.

[11] A.-D.d'Aiguillon, *Opinion...sur le projet de décret du comité des finances, relativement aux* assignats, *dans la séance du 15 avril 1790*, Paris, 1790, p. 1.

[12] B.Rizo, op. cit., p. 23.

Place Vendôme.[13] Such problems, although unforseeable in 1790, were at the heart of debates surrounding the issue of assignats, the psychological inheritance of John Law's disastrous issue of paper money in 1716, and the collapse of his bank in 1720, deeply prejudicing opinion against the perceived instability of paper money, and providing a premonition of the depreciation and iconoclasm which was to await the assignat itself.[14] In the 1790s there are reports of Law's failed banknotes (Ill. 1.8) found still attached to primitive pillories in rural areas, an indication of the anthropomorphic potential of money, but more particularly, of the reproach and suspicion with which paper money continued to be held in France until the early twentieth century.[15] Clarification and justification were therefore essential to the success of the assignat as a currency able to retain a value equal to metal coinage.

Although d'Aiguillon's text appears to reference Dupont's speech, the two responses to the question differ in a fundamental way. According to d'Aiguillon, the assignat is a 'lettre-de-change', payable at an indeterminate time, in which the value is guaranteed by a portion of property at the disposition of the nation. Dupont, on the other hand, provides an explanation that is more elementary, yet at the same time more abstract. In answer to his rhetorical question 'Qu'est-ce qu'un assignat?' he replies somewhat cryptically, but with admirable economy of language: 'c'est une promesse.'[16]

The manner in which these authors express their definitions suggests a crucial distinction. D'Aiguillon refers to the material facture of the assignat as implicated in the use to which it is put (a '*lettre*-de-change'). Dupont abstracts from the thing itself a meaning in which the object is rendered unimportant. Since Marx it has been a commonplace of economic theory to suggest that the physical attributes of the measure of value have no bearing on its ability to provide a universal exchange

[13] I discuss the collapse of the assignat and its aftermath in chapter four, pp. 226-227.
[14] The Banque Générale was established in 1716 by the Edinburgh-born John Law. Law had failed in his attempts to encourage the Scottish government to adopt a paper currency, but following his repatriation in France after an unsuccessful duel, had secured the friendship and patronage of the Regent Duc d'Orléans, who authorised his establishment of a private bank. This enjoyed great success for a short time, yet the continual issuance of paper money led to a rapid devaluation and crippling emergency measures that ultimately saw the bank fail and Law forced to leave France. For a brief discussion of the relationship between Law's notes and assignats see: R.Bonney, 'France and the First European Paper Money Experiment', *French History*, vol. 15, no. 3, September 2001, pp. 254-272.
[15] C.J.Gignoux, *La planche à Assignats*, Paris, 1933, p. 55.
[16] In: B.Rizo, op. cit., p. 23.

for commodities.[17] This is a hypothesis which is easily acceptable in our world of inconvertible paper money and diminishing coinage, where the shift to different currencies and increasingly abstracted exchange habits appears relatively seamless. However, at the time of the French Revolution the use of paper as a currency was not sufficiently stabilised for the concrete attributes of the unit of exchange not to matter. Money in France was not yet profane to the degree that it could be assimilated within an indiscriminate symbol.[18] Furthermore, as if the material solidity and corresponding intellectual and economic authority of the assignat were not sufficiently threatened, from its inception the assignat was subjected to rampant counterfeiting which profoundly affected the conditions of assignat production and the pattern of their subsequent usage. Accurate definition of what constituted an authentic assignat was an equally important issue for those engaged in counterfeiting, albeit for different reasons. At every stage in the process of assignat manufacture and use this dialectic of truth and falsehood required a close examination of the materiality of the currency, the printed paper itself.

The assignat was, first and foremost, a representation: of scarce metal currency, of 'reclaimed' church and aristocratic land, but also of the radical political transformation upon which the mutation of land into paper was based. The initial transaction, the sale of land forcibly nationalised for this very purpose, had conflated economic necessity and symbolic gesture theoretically to allow any citizen the right to own a piece of their regenerated nation in circulating paper form, and from the outset, the cultural and political potential of paper money were

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[17] 'Its [money's] functional existence so to speak absorbs its material existence. Since it is a transiently objectified reflection of the prices of commodities, it serves only as a symbol of itself, and can therefore be replaced by another symbol'. K.Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I*, trans. by Ben Fowkes, London, 1990 [1867] p. 226. Elsewhere, however, Marx implies that the materiality of money may contribute to its function, for example: 'The truth of the statement that 'although gold and silver are not by nature money, money is by nature gold and silver', is shown by the appropriateness of their natural properties for the functions of money' (pp. 183-184) and 'The fact that money can, in certain functions be replaced by mere symbols of itself, gave rise to another mistaken notion, that it is in itself a mere symbol' (p. 185). Marx's only direct reference to the assignat also occurs in *Capital, Volume I*: 'Men have often made man himself into the primitive material of money, in the shape of the slave, but they have never done this with the land and the soil. Such an idea could only arise in a bourgeois society, and one which was already well developed. It dates from the last third of the seventeenth century, and the first attempt to implement the idea on a national scale was made a century later, during the French bourgeois revolution' (p. 183).

[18] Of course, this statement is geographically contingent, as paper money had been in use in England for more than a century, providing a positive model for those in favour of the assignat's issue. For a discussion of money in terms of its relative profanity or sacrality see: A.Furnham and M.Argyle, *The Psychology of Money*, London and New York, 1998, pp. 39-40.

recognised alongside its economic value. Later projects to transform the church bells of France into coins which could be used in exchange for small denomination assignats rearticulated this symbolic appropriation in the guise of financial compulsion.[19]

On 2nd November 1789, interpreting in its favour article seventeen of the *Declaration of The Rights of Man and of Citizens*, which held that 'the right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it'[20] the National Assembly decreed 'Que tous les biens ecclésiastiques sont à la disposition de la nation,'[21] a move which paved the way for the eventual issue of paper money. Church lands represented almost a third of France, and although their actual value has been disputed, it is clear that they provided an immediate and substantial source of capital for the nascent revolutionary government. Minister of Finances Ramel-Nogaret's eulogy to the assignats at their annulment in 1796, his heartfelt, if hyperbolic claim that: 'les assignats ont fait la Révolution. Ils ont amené la destruction des ordres et des privilèges, ils ont renversés le trône et fondé la République'[22] is in this sense correct, for financial aid was desperately required to sustain early revolutionary momentum, the financial crisis bequeathed to the Revolution requiring the swift solution provided by the confiscation and sale of church lands. Yet Ramel allows a degree of ambiguity, suggesting that the political outcomes of the sale of church lands, the turning over of thrones which happened much later, had as much to do with the nature of the event, the symbolic act of appropriation, as the funds which this generated.

Louis-Sebastien Mercier likewise recognised how important the confiscation was to prove. Looking back from 1792 he noted how 'cette ressource unique consolida le pouvoir de l'Assemblée Nationale, autant qu'elle détruisit les espérances de ceux qui désiroient sa dissolution, afin de perpétuer l'ancien régime et ses abus.'[23] By 1790 the assignat's success as an interest-bearing bond was such that it became an

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[19] L.C.de L., *Reflexions sur le projet de rendre le métal de cloches malléable, et d'en fabriquer de la Monnoie pour servir à l'échange des petits assignats*, Paris, 1791, unpaginated.
[20] 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens by the National Assembly of France' in: T.Paine, *Rights of Man*, Ware, 1996 [1790], p. 74.
[21] In: M.Muszynski, op. cit., p. 11.
[22] D.-V.Ramel-Nogaret quoted in: J.Lafaurie, op. cit., Paris, 1981, p. 7.

officially circulating currency, the association between the fortunes of the assignat and those of the Revolution became inextricably linked, and the act of its exchange was conceptualised as a patriotic duty. It is my contention that the economic and political history of the assignat was dependent upon its visuality, which preceded all attributions of value in these spheres. Complicating Marxist assumptions about the relationship between an economic base and a loosely defined 'cultural' superstructure, and expanding revisionist conceptions of the role of cultural objects, this approach privileges the production and exchange of the assignats as images in their own right, whose cultural significance provoked a variety of repetitions and representations within print culture. These representations of assignats, which by selecting paper money as an adequate and persistent subject implicitly recognise its visuality, force us to consider the political and aesthetic problems and motivations integral to the reproduction of the mass-reproduced.

Nicolas-Henry Jeaurat de Bertry's painting *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Symbols of the Revolution* (Ill. 1.9) celebrates this new-found cultural centrality of the assignat amongst a plethora of other, more arcane revolutionary symbols.[24] At the base of a fasces and liberty tree, crowned by a bonnet rouge and below an eerily hovering eye of surveillance and a floating portrait of the venerable 'Jean-Jacques', a cornucopia spills paper money into the foreground of the image, watched by a puzzled, but no doubt faithful, dog. The assignat provides a uniquely quotidian element to this strange composite image, yet it is not considered here in terms of its accustomed use as money, but rather as an object bearing symbolic capital, with cultural significance in relation to the highest revolutionary archetypes – symbols which for the most part, at one time or another, could be found printed on an assignat. In effect, the assignat represented the Revolution even as the Revolution, in the form of its artists, represented the assignat, a self-perpetuating cycle which maximised the authority and interdependency of both. Yet Jeaurat's painting is

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[23] L.-S.Mercier, *Reflexions d'un patriote...*, Paris, 1792, p. 4. Some years earlier Mercier had stated that: 'c'est donc une *grande vice*, de n'avoir pour signe d'échanges que des *métaux*'. L.-S.Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. 1, Paris, 1994, p. 54.

[24] Although a painting, Jeaurat's image appears to have been intended to be engraved, such is its small scale and explicitly propagandistic iconography. Alternatively, the forms of print culture may have bled into the painting, rather than the other way around, as is more usually assumed. This appears to be the case in, for instance, Regnault's *Liberté ou la Mort* [1793], which, according to Philippe Bordes, is no more than 'a magnificent aggrandized vignette.' P.Bordes, 'David's Contemporaries: A Generation of Artists Against the Revolution?' in: G.Levitine ed., *Culture and Revolution: Cultural Ramifications of the French Revolution*, Maryland, 1989, p. 67.

clearly ideologically loaded, underlining the significance of the assignat even as, in an allegory of excess, it supplies a premonition of its undoing. We can still recognise echoes of the assignat's construction as a site of struggle in its subsequent appropriation for modern representative schemes as politically diverse as the decorative, celebrative tiling, set up as part of the Mitterandiste bicentennial project, on the walls of Bastille métro station (Ill. 1.10), or its use as support for a far more radical yet abortive bicentennial scheme to build a statue of Robespierre in the town of Thionville (Ill. 1.11). As we shall see, the assignat's intellectual, and for that matter economic stability were rarely, if ever, uncontested.

Paper money had been in circulation in France since 1776, when Necker and Turgot created the Caisse d'Escompte, issuing notes in denominations too high for use in anything but restrictive areas of commerce and finance. December 21st 1789 saw the establishment of the Caisse de l'Extraordinaire, formed to manage the issue of assignats and the sale of the church lands. At this point assignats functioned as a means by which the government could repay a short-term loan to the Caisse d'Escompte, and like the notes of that institution, were of a high denomination which restricted their initial use to the wealthy.[25] Dupont de Nemours was one of many to attack this exclusivity as unpatriotic. Describing himself in the populist language of 'un ami du peuple' he argued that even when issued in smaller denominations some years later, assignats were useful only to 'les gens riches', who used the depreciating assignat to repay debts owed to the poor.[26] Nevertheless, the assignat was conceived as a temporary measure, to be retired in 1791 after the first sales of National properties had raised enough for the Caisse de l'Extraordinaire to repay the Caisse d'Escompte. Quite simply, it was intended as a means by which to reorganise the repayment of the national debt in a manageable form; a circulation of arrears which mirrored the transformation of land into paper sign, and the corresponding shift from clerical or aristocratic authority to revolutionary sovereignty.

[25] Notes of 200, 300 and 1000 livres were issued, bearing 5% interest. Counterfeiters were known to fake the coupons or interest notes which were issued in addition to assignats. Issued in denominations of six, nine and thirty livres, these were payable for half their value ie. three, four and fifteen livres.

[26] P.-S.Dupont de Nemours, *Effet des assignats sur le prix du pain, par un ami du peuple*, Paris, n.d., p. 3.

The assignat 'proper' was preceded by *billets de confiance* which acted as guarantees for, and overlapped with, assignats to come. Repeated delays in the printing of new assignats, brought about by the increasingly massive quantities of notes required and, in response to counterfeiting, the complicated group effort of their assemblage, meant that employers, *départements*, communes, patriotic associations and other payment bodies were forced to compensate individuals by other means.[27] These *billets* were to be directly exchangeable for assignats upon their arrival, functioning as elaborate I.O.U.s. Although a date limit on the validity of these prints was set at 12 nivôse year I (1st January 1793), it was repeatedly extended, and they appear to have remained in use until the start of year IV, around the time of the assignats' withdrawal.[28] This kind of temporal superimposition and substitution regarding paper money during the Revolution is typical, an overlap which should always be considered when reading revolutionary rhetoric on the subject, especially the numerous laws which determine the historical narrative of the assignat with such apparent finality and authority.

In reality, the *billets de confiance* add a further layer of hybridity to the singular designation 'assignat'. Muszynski suggests that 5500 different *billets* were issued in 1500 communes between 1790 and 1793, a figure which appears believable given the broad range of sources from which they issued.[29] The *billets* were printed on a variety of supports, usually card or paper of varying colours. Playing cards were often used for this purpose, a traditional material promise of payment adapted to new circumstances. As their production was not subject to legislative interference, *billets de confiance* appeared in a huge range of designs, often carrying the manuscript addition of the bearer's name, or the issuing authority. The *billets* were generally horizontal in design, organised within a border which could be extremely simple (Ill. 1.12), or, in emulation of the assignats which were to follow, ornately complex (Ill. 1.13), with many stages in between. However, there are exceptions to this generalisation (Ill. 1.14), notes which worked more within a tradition of verticality established by Ancien Régime banknotes (Ill. 1.15), whilst others experimented with the dominance of the rectangular border (Ill. 1.16), or with counterfoils (Ill. 1.17). Revolutionary symbolism – bonnet rouges (Ill. 1.18),

[27] See: *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, Paris, 1st June 1790, p. 10 for an account of this delay.
[28] According to M.Muszynski, op. cit., p. 13.

fasces (Ill. 1.19), cockerels of vigilance (Ill. 1.20) and slogans or songs from popular culture, such as 'ça ira' (Ill. 1.21) – all regularly appeared on the notes, whilst others highlighted the site of issue, for instance the notes issued by one café in Normandy (Ill. 1.22).[30] The variety of titles given to the notes also leads to some confusion, for we see traditional 'bons' alongside 'mandats', a term which was to gain a currency of its own following the destruction of the assignats, and their direct substitution by *mandats territoriaux* in the year IV (Ill. 1.23). Given such diversity, and a lack of any control upon their reception or verification, these *billets* were immediately susceptible to counterfeiting (Ill. 1.24), which, ironically, enhanced this lack of uniformity, as issuing authorities sought to make notes more complex.[31]

In the first months of use, the assignat appeared to be retaining a value equal to scarce metal coinage, which, as Michel Bruguière has outlined, engendered a paradoxical situation wherein the initial solidity of the assignat generated a confidence which provided the conditions for its final collapse, as further increasingly desparate issues of assignats were made throughout the early 1790s.[32] By 1790 the government faced a serious financial crisis, and by September of that year a second issue of assignats had been released. Opinion was divided between those such as Necker, Talleyrand and de Nemours, who doubted the government's ability to orchestrate such a manoeuvre without the participation of financial advisors, and the likes of Mirabeau, whose bullish confidence had been raised following the initial success of the assignat by their own optimistic belief in the inevitability of revolutionary 'regeneration'.

Coming down firmly on the side of Mirabeau's expansive 'friend of man' *Un Essai sur les Assignats, par un créole* testifies to the interdependency of assignat and Revolution in both economic analysis and popular imagination. The anonymous author brightly maintains that the Revolution would be assured a healthy future, if

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[29] M.Muszynski, ibid., p. 13.

[30] See: J.Pilet-Lemière and C.Jigan, *Collections monétaires du Musée de Normandie, Vol. 1: Les Billets communaux de la France révolutionnaire, 1790-1793*, Caen, 1989.

[31] Prior to the Revolution, a cottage industry of counterfeiters making fake *Billets de la Caisse de l'Escompte* appears to have existed, although on nowhere near as large a scale as under the Revolution. Diderot's *Jacques the Fatalist* [1755-1784] mentions the presence in a Paris prison of 'A fool who invented a machine for counterfeiting bills,' a fictional reference which indicates the association of paper money with counterfeiting in the pre-revolutionary popular imagination. Unfortunately for this crook 'It was a pretty bad machine, a dreadful machine with twenty or more faults.' D.Diderot, *Jacques the Fatalist*, trans. by Michael Henry, London, 1986, p. 89.

rather than colluding with the 'capitaliste' speculator, that 'parasite des nations', revolutionary legislators, who held the power to alter patterns of belief as well as practice, forced traders to buy and sell with assignats alone.[33] Legislative coercion ultimately became practice, and cases such as that of the priest Pierre Bal, imprisoned in 1794 in Anvers for six months and fined three thousand livres for refusing to accept assignats as payment were not uncommon.[34]

Not for the first or last time assignat use is suggested as a requirement of citizenship, although prognoses for both Revolution and assignat did not remain this positive. By April 1792 a book of prophecies relating the future progress of various aspects of contemporary life contained the following gloomy prediction of the course the assignat would take in the next eight months:

> En attendant, ils entraveront le commerce, ils enrichiront les agioteurs à qui l'assemblée constituante a vendu la France; ils opéront l'ébranlement de toutes les fortunes, ils feront disparoître le numéraire jusqu'au dernier écu; ils accroîtront la misere du peuple, par le renchérissement progressif de toutes les denrées nécessaires à la consommation.[35]

Here the assignat is indicted as an object with a very specific, negative agency. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy in July 1790 had practically eliminated all forms of charitable aid for the poor,[36] whilst the catastrophic inflation engendered by the assignat lead to the imposition two years later of a 'maximum' on soaring prices.

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[32] M.Bruguière, op. cit., p. 60.

[33] *Un Essai sur les Assignats, par un créole*, Paris, 1790, p. 9. Self-definition as 'créole' at this time designated place of birth rather than colour, and it is possible that the author was white. The derogatory term 'capitaliste' translates more appropriately during this period as 'speculator', as in fact the anonymous author, whose proclaimed créole status would have suggested an involvement in transatlantic trade, is himself arguing from a market-orientated, free-trade position in keeping with modern definitions of 'capitalism'.

[34] *Jugement du Tribunal Criminel établi à Anvers ... qui condamne le nommé Pierre Bal prêtre ... à une détention de six mois, & à trois mille livres d'amende, pour avoir refusé des assignats en payement de ses gages & pour le salaire de ses Messes. (Vryheyd, Gelykheyd, Broederlykheyd, of de Dood. Vonnis van de Criminele Regtbank opgeregt tot Antwerpen, etc.)*, 16 Oct. 1794, French and Dutch, Antwerp, 1794. Edmund Burke noted the symbolic currency which attended such cases, and which was dependent upon the material facture of the paper notes: 'Even the clergy are to receive their miserable allowance out of the depreciated paper, which is stamped with the indelible character of sacrilege, and with the symbols of their own ruin.' Warming to his theme, Burke continued: 'So violent an outrage upon credit, property, and liberty, as this compulsory paper currency, has seldom been exhibited by the alliance of bankruptcy and tyranny, at any time, or in any nation.' E.Burke, *Reflections upon the Revolution in France*, London and New York, 1967 [1790], p. 119.

[35] *Prophéties pour les huit derniers mois de l'année 1792, quatrième de la Liberté*, Paris, 1792, p. 32.

[36] A.Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor*, Oxford, 1981, pviii.

The economic Terror of 1792, intensified by the pressures of war on several fronts, meant that many did indeed suffer hardship as a result of the assignat whilst others inevitably profited, a separation which Étienne Béricourt's typically lively *Distributions d'Assignats* amply illustrates (Ill. 1.25). The narrative outlined by the fortune-teller of the *Prophéties* is one in which assignats no longer functioned solely as instruments of economic strategy, but were deeply implicated in the everyday experience of contemporary French life.

Mechanically produced in vast quantities which make even other areas of print culture appear positively rarified and auratic, paper money during the Revolution occupies a unique position on the cusp of the nineteenth century. In the last twenty years much attention has been paid to the importance of revolutionary symbolism as a form of revolutionary inculturation, without acknowledging sufficiently the medium of its transmission.[37] Put simply, the assignat, real or fake, was without a doubt the most widely-circulated form of print culture during the Revolution – nothing else can really compare with the billions of notes which exchanged hands throughout this period. The assignat would therefore have been a prominent method by which to disseminate this shifting new iconography, and it is, I argue, essential that we understand it as a component of print culture independent of its function as money, a function which was in any case dependent upon its visuality. People were, for quite practical reasons, forced to examine their money closely. At street-level, money tends to be kept close to the body, encouraging an identification of wealth with self, and ensuring a repeated re-engagement with its materiality.[38] As we shall see, the body became a primary means of conceptually engaging with the latent reproductive and consumptive significations of the assignat, a relationship which was, in the first instance, ocular.

The sheer volume of this printed material invites its retrospective identification with the mass-media possibilities which were to follow. In recent years literary critics John Vernon and Jean-Joseph Goux have investigated the relationship between the

[37] See for instance the important studies of revolutionary symbolism undertaken by James Leith. J.A.Leith, 'Symbols in the French Revolution: The Strange Metamorphoses of the Triangle' in: J.A.Leith ed., *Symbols in Life and Art*, Montreal and Kingston, 1987, pp. 105-117.

[38] Although it is beyond the scope of this study, an analysis of the ways in which the assignat affected how people carried their money would prove very interesting. For instance, how did the transition from metal to 'folding' currency affect clothing, pockets, wallets and so on, and how did this create new markets for consumption?

development of paper money and the parallel ascendancy of the novel.[39] Beginning in the early decades of the nineteenth century Vernon examines the way in which the change from metal coinage to paper money reflects a more widespread cultural shift that found its most prominent expression in nineteenth-century realistic fiction. Goux bases his analysis on a reading of Gide's *The Counterfeiters* and the increasing use of non-convertible paper currency, and both authors suggest that the increasing abstraction brought about by the transition to paper as signifier of value both allow for and document respectively, European novelistic realism and, more implausibly, American abstract expressionist painting.

I am not seeking to make such grand claims about the assignat as the site of a putative modernism, claims which are, in any case, dubiously anachronistic. Vernon and Goux, like Walter Benjamin, view the mass (re)production of printed paper as an essentially nineteenth-century phenomenon.[40] Although these trends are clearly prefigured in the 1790s, nowhere more explicitly than in the production of paper money, the assignat was so closely associated with the course of the Revolution itself that later economists and ideologues were keen to establish distinctions between the assignats' failure and their own, specifically 'modern' currencies.[41] Niall Ferguson suggests that this 'topos of dissolution as a consequence of economic modernization'[42] is a constant leitmotif of nineteenth-century cultural products, a formulation which links money to culture, and the invention of modernity, in a less triumphalist manner than that described by Vernon

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[39] J.Vernon, *Money and Fiction: Literary Realism in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*, Ithaca, 1984;. J.-J.Goux, *The Coiners of Language*, trans. by Jennifer Curtiss Gage, Norman, Oklahoma and London, 1984. See also: T.DiPiero, 'Buying into Fiction', *Diacritics*, Summer 1988, pp. 2-25 and P.Reynaud-Pactat, 'Jean-Joseph Goux and the Metaphor of the Promissary Note in Gustave Flaubert's Madame Bovary', *Diacritics*, Summer 1988, pp. 69-80.

[40] W.Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, trans. by Harry Zohn, London, 1992, pp. 211-244.

[41] See: S.D.Dillaye, *Assignats and Mandats: A True History, Including an examination of Dr. Andrew D. White's 'Paper Money Inflation in France'*, Philadelphia, 1877, p. 7. Dillaye notes that White '[...] undertakes to convince the American people that because assignats failed and became worthless, the currency known as Greenbacks and National Bank Notes, based upon the credit, resources and honor of the United States, must also fail and become worthless'.

[42] N.Ferguson, *The Cash Nexus: Money and Power in the Modern World, 1700-2000*, London, 2001, p. 5. The conservative historian Niall Ferguson's recent analysis of the 'nexus' between money and politics is unusual for its recognition of the interdependency of economic and cultural activity. Ferguson reverses the proposition that money produces power to suggest that the struggle for political, sexual or other power has had a consistent and notable impact upon economic theory and practice. Although Ferguson barely mentions the assignat, his argument allows for the possibility that the 'cultural' aspects of the assignat are not solely a product of its status as money, and that its position as unit of exchange is intrinsically linked to the political and cultural circumstances of its

and Goux. Whilst the latter are keen to establish a clear linkage between paper money and exclusively modern forms of cultural production, Ferguson reminds us that the course of history is seldom smooth, and that modernity was as often as not a construct imagined in negative terms, even by those who are most often lauded as its exemplars. In fact, fiduciary paper money did not, despite its increased cultural importance, achieve widespread general usage, remaining for most of the nineteenth century, as it had for most of the eighteenth, the preserve of the rich.

The transition from assignat as financial technique to assignat as circulating currency was etymologically prefigured in the confusion between the word 'assignat' and the initially more correct 'assignation'. Contemporary dictionaries make clear the difference between an 'assignation', or provisional sign for money, and 'assignat', or 'real' circulating currency. Saint-Just's rebuke that 'le vice de notre économie étant l'excès de signe'[43] indicates the importance to the Revolution of an appearance of 'real' worth over 'empty' sign, a difference motivated as much by political as economic considerations, especially during the Terror, when the symbolic relevance of 'authenticity' was exaggerated. By initially swapping the more accurate 'assignation' for 'assignat', a subtle transformation took place which added significance to an otherwise weightless creation.[44] The implication that the assignat was from the outset a 'true' currency was a necessary device to generate faith in its value-bearing capacity.

As the Revolution progressed, the question 'What is an assignat?' escalated beyond the confines of d'Aiguillon and Dupont's terminological modifications, becoming increasingly relevant as an establishing principle of revolutionary truth. The assignat came to condense a variety of agendas and anxieties about who had the authority to determine social processes during the Revolution, a series of encounters which often took place at the level of, and about, representation.[45] The struggle to make the assignat counterfeit-proof may be read in the most basic sense as an attempt by the legislative bodies of the Revolution to consolidate their power by the

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production and use. This approach is, in fact, amenable to what has been termed the 'cultural turn' in French Revolutionary historiography.

[43] Saint-Just, 29th November 1792, quoted in M.Muszynski, op. cit., p. 4.

[44] M.Bruguière, op. cit., p. 59.

[45] For a discussion of the complex idea of *political* representation in this period see: K.M.Baker, 'Representation' in: K.M.Baker ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, vol. 1: The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 469-492.

provision of a 'scientific' justification for the elimination of all imperfect (and therefore transgressive) attempts to replicate or challenge this authority. However, for a fuller picture, attention must also be paid to the motivations, political or social, behind the counterfeit assignats, and to the areas where binaries of 'official' and 'non-official' intervention intersect.

Making and faking 1: Camus

In November 1791, the counter-revolutionary publisher Michel Webert issued a print which dramatised the desperate state of French finances under the Revolution in explicitly bodily terms (Ill. 1.26). The scene is set in the bowels of the Archives Nationales, where the *formes* and *matrices* used to make assignats were stored in conditions of maximum security made necessary by the endemic counterfeiting which threatened the legitimacy of this new currency. Dominating the image is the fantastic figure of Armand Gaston Camus, the first director of the Archives, who was habitually ridiculed in the counter-revolutionary press for his role in the first release of paper money, for his contribution to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy,[46] and for his proposals for the reduction of the civil list.[47] Grandly emerging from a crowd of revolutionary malefactors, Camus, a rather marginalised figure in revolutionary histories, engages the viewer with a solemn gaze which makes his sartorial eccentricity appear all the more absurd, and which appears to implicate him, and us, in the conspiracy unfolding before our eyes. As the counter-

[46] See: *Lettre de Monsieur M*** a Monsieur J***, sur un ecrit intitulé: Opinion de M. Camus, dans la séance du 31 mai 1790, sur le plan de Constitution du Clergé, proposé par le Comité Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1790.

[47] A lawyer by profession, Camus (1740-1804), a member of the National Assembly from 1789 to 1791, and of the Convention in 1792, achieved notoriety for his responses to the papal bulls of 1791 condemning the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Camus was, alongside Bailly, the first to enter the Tennis Court at Versailles on the 20th June 1789, and was the second signatory to the oath. He was later imprisoned in Maastricht as part of the group sent to recapture the traitorous general Dumouriez, from where he wrote an apology for Catholic belief aimed at defusing counter-revolutionary criticism of his Jansenism, a statement which whole-heartedly reneged on his 1791 separatist position. Camus later wrote a tract analysing the development of stereotype printing, largely informed by his experience with the assignat, a nationalist project which characterised stereotyping as a specifically French phenomenon. See: A.G.Camus, *Histoire et procédés du polytypage et de la stéréotypie*, Paris, 1802; A.G.Camus, *Mes pensées et ma déclaration sur la religion*, Paris, 1793; also P.Préteux, *Armand-Gaston Camus, avocat, premier Garde général des Archives Nationales, membre de l'Institut, 1740-1804*, Paris, 1933. In his position as archivist, Camus did not avoid criticism. As an anonymous manuscript annotation to Camus's *Voyage fait dans les départemens nouvellement réunis*, Paris, 1803, observed, 'il est plus aisé de traduire Epictete que de l'imiter.' Undated manuscript addition to frontispiece, Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, côté 603669.

revolutionary journalist Boyer de Nîmes observed, in this instance, Camus's grave demeanour is significantly weightier than the clothes he wears.[48]

Camus's entire dress, including his hair, is composed of assignats of various denominations. The figures surrounding him are attempting, with little resistance, to relieve him of his paper suit. Barnave, recognisable as an appropriation of his own self-portrait (Ill. 1.27), rather than his more common Janus-faced characterisation, is willingly being paid a large sum of money to cover gambling debts (Ill. 1.28). The bespectacled Le Chapelier, whose own costume and attributes reference *biribi*, a popular but speculative game of risk, sneaks a note from Camus's coat, as does Brissot, on bended knee (Ill. 1.29).[49] In the background, Charles Lameth, Abbé Fauchet, Dom Mulot, Chabot and Pastoret scrap for fragments of the archivist's fragile garments, which are disintegrating rapidly to reveal an undetermined surface. The slender gap in meaning between clothing and the body, in whose image clothing is made, narrows further here. Although Camus's clothes are clearly composed of assignats, we are led to believe that this extends to his body as a whole – clothing is figured as a bodily fragment, whilst the directness of his gaze incriminates the viewer as an accomplice to this disintegration. Our intrusion into the secret, hidden space of the archive performs an effect of uncovering the truth, of stripping bare. Camus is in this print, literally made of money, his body a frame for the paper notes whose ownership is being disputed.[50] To paraphrase Marx, 'circulation', in this case of a transgressive variety, 'sweats money from every pore.'[51]

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[48] 'Camus a un air satisfait, et sa démarche héroique est d'autant plus légère que son habit, sa veste et sa culotte, entièrement faits avec des assignats.' M.Boyer-Brun [Boyer de Nîmes], *Histoire des caricatures de la révolte des français*, Paris, 1792, p. 369.

[49] Brissot steals a note bearing the legend 'je brissote', equating his name with the act of theft. In popular mythology Le Chapelier was falsely credited as having invented *biribi*, an accusation reinforced within print culture, which derived from his alleged gambling with government finances. See my chapter four, p. 202.

[50] For a comprehensive and intelligent analysis of the role of bodily metaphors during this period see: A.de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell, Stanford, CA, 1997. On this image see: C.Langlois, *La Caricature Contre-Révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1988, pp. 51-53.

[51] K. Marx, op. cit., p. 208.

This parable of misrule (though more Voltairean smirk than Rabelaisian grotesquerie, to follow Robert Darnton's distinction[52]), ostensibly mocking the institutional abuse of a new assignat of five livres, has a clear antecedent in the *Cris de Paris* genre of popular prints featuring workers clad in the tools or subjects of their trade (Ill. 1.30). This was, in fact, a form appropriated some years later to satirise the penury caused by the depreciation of the assignat (Ill. 1.31). However, *L'Homme aux assignats*, as the print became known, does not present an image of a static, 'natural' order of traditional labour, but rather configures the assignat as a site of struggle central to the formation of both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary identities. This print appropriates the imagery of the Revolution (in the form of the assignat) in the services of Counter-Revolution. In a language which consistently allies the corporeal to the political, the assignat is invoked as an image of political conflict at odds with the stability with which it is presented, as we shall see, in Republican representation.

If, in this print, the assignat stands for an individual revolutionary body, the person of Camus, its subtext is the fragmentation of the revolutionary body politic. This ironic paraphrasing of the corporeal duality of royalty casts Camus as a paper monarch, insubstantial and lacking in authority, his disrobing mimicking the staged publicness of the royal *déshabiller*, thrown into sharp relief by the tattered garments of the elderly royal soldier of the order of Saint-Louis, entering from the left. Camus attempts to seduce this figure, who has arrived to appeal against the withdrawal of his pension, into cannibalism: 'come to dinner with your friends' reads the piece of paper he is passed. There is a Eucharistic flavour to this consumption which eliminates any lingering doubt that it is only Camus's clothing at stake here. The famous titlepage to Hobbes's *Leviathan* also appears to be invoked, its fragmented, and, in Hobbes's words 'feigned' model for monarchical political representation parodied as archetype (Ill. 1.32).[53] Finally, Camus's anachronistic hairstyle is polysemic, referencing both royal portraiture (Rigaud's *Louis XIV* is an obvious example) and the extravagantly bewigged John Law

[52] R.Darnton, 'Worker's Revolt: The Great Cat Massacre of the Rue Saint-Séverin' in: *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, London, 2001 [1984], p. 101. I would like to thank Rebecca Spang for reminding me of the pertinence of this reference.

[53] For a brief discussion of Hobbes's significance for revolutionary theories of representation see: J.Landes, 'Political Imagery of the French Revolution' in: *Representing Revolution: French and British Images, 1789-1804*, exh. cat., Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, MA, 1989, pp. 14-15.

(Ill. 1.33), the collapse of whose bank informed all subsequent commentaries on the subject of paper money.

Counter-revolutionary imagery made extensive use of caricature to debase the assignat and the Revolution it represented, often appropriating revolutionary iconography in the process.[54] Counter-revolutionary publishers revelled in the assignat's failure in a language which consistently mobilises the body as a site of political opposition. For instance, by adopting a well-known revolutionary scatological device (Ill. 1.34) one widely-disseminated print, *Cas des Assignats* (Ill. 1.35), assaulted the assignats' frail international reputation by invoking the familiar psycho-social implications of 'dirty money'.[55] Indeed, it may be that *Cas des Assignats* is a direct rejoinder to *Bref du Pape en 1791*, which mocks the angry papal response to the civil constitution of the clergy, and, indirectly, the confiscation of church lands upon which the assignat was based. Camus himself authored a reply to Rome, imagined here in far more direct terms, and it is possibly this which encouraged the derivative counter-revolutionary riposte.

A more ambivalent tone was set in an image from the same year, in which the assignat was appropriated for a 'carnival money', issued by the 'Caisse Merdeuse' and payable 'dans la bouche' (Ill. 1.36). This 'funny money', which recognised the sustained currency of the pre-Lenten carnival, banned two years previously, recounted the scatological adventures of the brothers 'Trouspet' and 'Baise mon cul', using the idea and form of the assignat to embody the transgressive circulation of Mardi Gras, a time when the powers that be were 'paid back'. This image references both official and non-official production, whilst retaining for itself a third-person distance which relativises and mocks the fallibility of both parties,[56] an

[54] According to Michel Melot: 'Caricature can only function satisfactorily in opposition. This is not surprising, for caricature can be defined as an upside-down academicism, a way of *counterfeiting* the dominant taste'. M.Melot, 'Caricature and the Revolution: The Situation in France in 1789' in: J.Cuno ed., *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-99*, Los Angeles, 1989, p. 26. The format of Boyer-Brun's weekly *Histoire*, issued from March 1792, which directly contrasted a revolutionary and counter-revolutionary caricature every week, would have encouraged comparisons, dialogue and appropriations.

[55] This commonplace of psychoanalytic theory develops the position laid down in: S.Freud, 'Character and Anal Eroticism' in: *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol IX (1906-08): Jensen's 'Gradiva' and Other Works*, trans. by James Strachey, London, 2001 [1908] pp. 169-175, and is supported by the numerous linguistic connections between money and dirt/shit – 'filthy lucre', 'stinking rich' and so on.

[56] As a complement to his formulation of the carnivalesque as a socially liberating presence (*Rabelais and his World*), Bakhtin offers an analysis of Diderot's *Rameau's Nephew* which casts the

ironic position enacted in a public realm of exchange and display, rather than the private voyeurism and silent skullduggery practised by counterfeiters, who did not aim to produce a parody, but an exact likeness, or simulacrum, challenging the standard of reality central to the monopoly of the money form.[57] In contrast to their repeated appearance in counter-revolutionary or parodic images, assignats rarely appear in pro-revolutionary prints, either because these aimed to avoid the damage which the use of assignats in a satirical context could cause, or for the simple reason that assignats were themselves a vital component of this politicised print culture, their unique authority threatened by representation.

In a different national environment, and five years after the production of *L'Homme aux assignats*, it is interesting to see the violation of the paper 'body' repeated, and gendered, in James Gillray's *Political Ravishment* (Ill. 1.37), which graphically illustrates the rape of a woman representing the Bank of England to embody a similar thematic of theft, although here the attack is resisted rather than encouraged. The reference to British caricature is appropriate, as a print circulated in Germany under the title *O Sacre Dieu – uns bekomm bien die Liberte* (Ill. 1.38) demonstrates. Appropriating one half of Gillray's contrast print *French Liberty/British Slavery*, this composite image reproduces a five livres assignat with immaculate detail (even the *timbre sec*, or inkless embossed stamp, is visible) in the top right-hand corner of the print. Below it a representation of a paper note issued during the siege of Mayence provides a frame for a trailing succession of metal coins which lead to the jug of snails on the bare table. This image is a scenario of consumption, both culinary and financial, the conditions of the latter ensuring that the former, in

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eponymous antihero as a prime example of 'the philosophy of the third person in private life.' Unlike the transgressive public spectacle of carnival, which demands mass participation, this theory suggests that a similarly parodic effect is achieved, or rather perceived, by the presence of the non-participating individual observer. It is this chameleon-like distance which marks the difference between consciously carnivalesque parodies of assignats such as *Caisse Merdeuse*, and the more sly but ultimately more effective counterfeit note. Radnóti sees this as a characteristic of the picaresque literary genre, whose social conditions, like those of the revolutionary counterfeit, are loosely: 'urban life, a slackening social hierarchy accompanied by growing social mobility, and a broad range of opportunities for pretension, illusion, and disguise.' See: M.M.Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Three Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin, 1981, p. 126. and S.Radnóti, *The Fake: Forgery and its Place in Art*, trans. by Ervin Dunai, Lanham, 1999, p. 11.

[57] For a comprehensive history of the idea of the simulacrum see: M.Camille, 'Simulacrum' in: R.S.Nelson and R.Shiff eds., *Critical Terms for Art History*, Chicago, 1996, pp. 31-44. See also: S.Durham, *Phantom Communities: The Simulacrum and the Limits of Postmodernism*, Stanford, CA, 1998, which offers a similar trajectory of the concept in Western thought, following from a basic definition of the simulacrum as '[...] the image which, having internalized its own repetition, calls into question the authority and legitimacy of its model' (p. 3).

France at least, is difficult. This, in turn, accounts for the meagre sustenance and tattered clothing of the grotesque sans-culotte.[58] In addition, the print acts as a statement on the international recognition of the assignat, and on the consumption of printed images across national boundaries. One year after the production of *Political Ravishment*, indeed possibly following this model, the anonymous etching *La Bourse protège les agioteurs* (Ill. 1.39) reiterated the association of money with clothing and, by implication, the body, the female figure representing the Bourse sporting a voluminous skirt with an almost perfunctory representation of mandats territoriaux, whose immovable width protects the rapacious speculators like naughty schoolchildren.[59] The allusion here is far more easily comprehensible than in the German print – within even the most basic caricatural tradition we should not be surprised to see the image of the National Bank identified by a smattering of money.

In both this image and *L'Homme aux assignats* the paper-clad body signifies institutional corruption and mismanagement. However, the representation of Camus, a clearly denoted if parodied man of state, aims at a greater level of personalisation, whilst both the Gillray print and *La Bourse protège les agioteurs*, with their suggestion of commodified female sexuality, transplant the behaviour of their respective National Banks onto an abstracted female caricature. This was a form of bodily recognition, albeit distorted, which was to continue to be applied to Camus many years after the publication of *L'Homme aux assignats*. In the anonymous *Camus et un acolyte accueillent un couple de rentiers* of 1797 (Ill. 1.40), the bizarrely gnome-like figure of the archivist, seated astride repossessed furniture and clutching a handful of assignats, his companion sporting oversized clothes reclaimed from a *rentier*, is posited as responsible for the assignat's depreciation and the *rentiers'* ruin. This was an accusation which was not applied with anywhere near the same frequency to any other legislative figure involved in the issue of assignats. In *L'Impayable Rentier de l'Etat, Que ne suis-je*

[58] The analogy between consumption and money was also a staple of French popular culture. In the words of the self-consciously 'popular' character Mère Duchêne: 'L'Argent coule de mes doigts comme l'eau: si tous les citoyens faisoient circuler les espèces comme mon mari & moi, le commerce fleuriroit bien vîre: le père Duchêne sur-tout aime bougrement la consommation,' *Lettres bougrement patriotiques de la mère duchêne. Suivi du Journal des femmes, février-avril 1791*, Paris, 1989 [1791], p. 92.

Camus (Ill. 1.41) Camus is again referred to by name, an indictment quite out of proportion to his role in either the original issue of assignats, or their subsequent collapse. The figure in this print, stroking his long nose, lets us in on a joke at Camus's expense: his name, in French, meaning 'snub-nosed'. In a classic reversal the *rentier* celebrates his difference from Camus, who is again figured through a part of his body. Yet although the trope of the paper man appeared regularly in connection with Camus (Ill. 1.42), the theft of the assignat-body is the main focus of this print, the breach of Camus's flimsy armature figuring as an attack on the borders of the false revolutionary body. Images of Camus produced later in the Revolution indicate that the characterisation of Camus as 'l'homme aux assignats' was influential in associating a single figure with the assignat, and whatever calamities befell it.[60]

The use of money to indicate individual political agency had a specific aetiology in the early years of the Revolution, quite apart from its more obvious references as a medium of class distinction. Despite the proclaimed equality of all citizens, a decree of December 1789 had divided citizenship into three categories which drew immediate accusations of similarity to Ancien-Régime hierarchies. Those who paid a direct contribution to the state inferior to the value of three days work were 'passive' citizens, who were denied the right to vote. This in itself was of little import, for the poor were, even during the Revolution, rarely afforded such rights. The 'active' citizens of the electoral body were divided into two groups, electors and eligibles, of which the latter were bound to pay the sum defined by the 'marc d'argent.' A marc is a unit of weight equal to half a pound, which was represented by the capacity of a small bucket – a not insignificant amount. This measure would, as Camille Desmoulins pointed out, have excluded Rousseau, Corneille and Mably from full voting rights, and it became a popular subject for printed satires in the early years of the Revolution (Ill. 1.43).[61] The marc d'argent was, essentially, a monetary contribution described in terms – a somewhat arcane measure of weight –

[59] British caricature strongly influenced counter-revolutionary print culture, especially in the form of the peculiarly British 'phylacteries,' or speech bubbles. See: C.Langlois, 'Counter-revolutionary iconography' in: J.Cuno ed., op. cit., p. 48.

[60] See: A.de Baecque, 'The Paper Monster: The Fictional Body of Political Event' in: A.de Baecque, op. cit., p. 175. De Baecque suggests that 'The hybrid writing of the journals or the revolutionary pamphlet is based on the referential complicity of the writer and the reader', which produces 'monstrous' but easily recognisable forms, structures which, I would suggest, are not dissimilar to the visual characterisation of Camus.

which accentuated its ability to confer an analogous political and social 'weight'.[62] The metaphoric and parodic distinctions between a man whose identity is 'made' by a heavy bucket of coins and a man literally made of paper are clear to see.

The use of individual identities to promote or denigrate the assignat was a feature shared across the political spectrum, and was implicitly linked to the 'identity' of the assignat, in short, its authenticity. However, *L'Homme aux assignats*, set in a location which conflates the manufacture of the assignat with its historicisation in the archive, highlights, by way of its central motif, the contested nature of the assignat as a sign of political affiliation, and the degree to which the security and authority of the assignat were imagined as violated.

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Counterfeiting presented the most obvious but sustained threat to the value of paper currency, and the most immediate act of violence towards the body politic. By increasing the amount of notes in circulation counterfeit production devalued official currency whilst simultaneously destabilising confidence in the ability of the official currency adequately to represent a universal standard. Counterfeiting was a problem of representation, putting pressure on the authenticity of the assignat, yet those responsible for policing the assignat, the local police and the centralised bureaux of authentification and manufacture, did not know where to look. Common sense suggested that the majority of counterfeiters were involved in the printing trade at some level, whether an unemployed journeyman or a paper-maker who had come by a stolen printing plate. With this in mind one commentator expressed incredulity at the thought that an artist should become involved in such a despicable activity, remarking that 'il est difficile de croire que l'artiste de premier ordre soit

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[61] C.Desmoulins quoted in: A.de Baecque, *La Caricature révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1988, p. 153.

[62] As Daniel Roche has noted, metaphors of weight were predominant in pre-revolutionary conceptions of local town hierarchy. The 'weight of a town' incorporated both its architectural monumentality and its privileges, defence, taxes, finance and population. Roche notes the caricatural figuration of this metaphor in prints produced during the early years of the Revolution featuring well-fed members of the clergy and aristocracy riding on the back of the peasantry. See my Fig 4.1. D.Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*, trans. by Brian Pearce, Cambridge, 2000, p. 33.

en même-tems contrefacteur et assassin,'[63] the mental connection between counterfeiting and other more serious crimes associated with duplicity coming naturally to those who raised their children to heed Rousseau's warning that 'the man of the world almost always wears a mask.'[64] Indeed, prosecutions for those accused of counterfeiting often attempted to identify the act of counterfeiting with other forms of dissimulation or simulation, whether in the crime itself or in other areas of the accused's life.[65] Interestingly, this remark only applies to the artist 'de premier ordre', the implication being that lesser artists were probably well used to copying, and thus more likely to be involved in counterfeiting, the revolutionary suspicion of representation exonerating only the great.[66]

In fact, as police records show, quite a contrary situation existed.[67] Those arrested for counterfeiting came from all walks of life, the printed threat/incitement which all assignats bore, somewhat hypocritical in its simultaneous encouragement and punishment of duplicity, evidently failing to persuade enough people that they could not make a fortune from the paper notes. Although those sentenced to death for this crime were largely employed in artisanal occupations, the range was considerable, from clockmaker to soldier, rabbit-skin salesman to lawyer.[68] In addition, the British government, supported by émigré leaders such as Louis XVI's brother, the Comte d'Artois, was engaged in a sustained and extensive programme of counterfeiting, flooding France with forgeries in an attempt to ruin the French

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[63] *Découverte pour transporter les Assignats d'une ville à une autre, sans courir les risques du brigand et en conservant à la poste tous ses avantages. Présentée a l'Assemblée Nationale, le 10 mars 1791*, Paris, 1791, p. 8.

[64] J.-J.Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. by Barbara Foxley, London and New York, 1974, p. 191.

[65] See for instance: *Jugement rendu par le Tribunal Criminel du Département de Paris, du mardi 17 avril 1792, l'an 4e de la Liberté*, Paris, 1792. In this judgement Daniel Houzel and Jean Mury are sentenced to death for counterfeiting, the evidence corroborated by horrified referral to the 'disguises' the accused wore.

[66] Katie Scott has persuasively analysed the emergence of the first French copyright act in 1793, and its implications for the formation of the role of the 'author' in response to artistic piracy. K.Scott, 'Authorship, the Académie, and the Market in Early Modern France', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1998, pp. 27-42.

[67] See: J.Bouchary, op. cit., p. 29-42.

[68] Over three hundred people were guillotined for counterfeiting assignats, more than half in Paris. J.Lafaurie, op. cit., p. 57. The death sentence for counterfeiting was reduced by the law of 28th April 1832, and eventually rescinded in 1960, to be replaced with hard labour for life. In 1992 this changed again to thirty years in prison and a three million franc fine. *L'Art du billet: billets de la Banque de France, 1800-2000*, exh. cat., Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 2000, pp. 63-64.

economy. This operation reached its peak around 1794, as counterfeit assignats arrived in vast quantities to aid the war in the Vendée.[69]

In London alone more than seventeen counterfeiting establishments are rumoured to have existed by 1795, employing some four hundred workers, although accurate figures are hard to come by, and the whole business was shrouded in secrecy.[70] Although the buildings and decorations of the clergy were a cost '[...] horriblement cher à la patrie,'[71] and despite a revolutionary heritage anchored in the knowledge that 'presque tous les philosophes se sont attachés à démontrer le néant des idées théocratiques,'[72] religious properties were not the only lands to be appropriated by the Revolution, for by July 1792 the land and buildings of emigrés had also been commandeered by the Legislative Assembly.[73] Émigrés, who financed, and in a more general manner supported such counterfeiting enterprises, were consistently discriminated against as 'non-people' in Republican rhetoric.[74] Lacking any legal existence, émigrés were consciously overlooked by the political hierarchy in France, who part-feared and part-mocked their insurrectional potential. The pretence that émigrés did not exist was concurrent with, and perhaps expressed, a deep-seated paranoia about their movements, and a popular surveillance which detected their hand in any suspicious or potentially counter-revolutionary activity. Yet as late as 1792 Belléroche, deputy of the department of the Vienne, submitted a lackadaisical report to the National Assembly requesting the solution of three fundamental questions: whether indeed assignats were being falsified in England, who was responsible if this proved to be the case, and what should be done about it.[75]

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[69] Following Hoche's suppression of the white armies more than ten billion livres worth of fake assignats were uncovered, a quantity which surprised even the notorious general. See: P.Bower, 'Economic warfare: banknote forgery as a deliberate weapon' in: V.Hewitt, *The Banker's Art: Studies in Paper Money*, London, 1995, pp. 46-60.

[70] A.del Mar, *Les systèmes monétaires*, Paris, 1889 in: M.Muszynski, op. cit., p. 14.

[71] L.-S.Mercier, *Tableau...*, op. cit., p. 56.

[72] J.Marchena, *Essai de théologie*, Paris, 1797, p. 3.

[73] As Necker observed, one of the primary causes of the dearth of metallic money which had brought about the assignat had been its transfer abroad by rich aristocrats. J.P.Ligné, *Chronique monétaire sous la Révolution française*, Paris, 1999, unpaginated.

[74] K.Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789-1802*, New York, 1999, p. 11.

[75] M.Belléroche, *Rapport et projet de décret fait et présenté a l'Assemblée Nationale au nom du comité des assignats et monnoies, sur la récompense à accorder pour la découverte d'une fausse fabrication d'assignats*, Paris, 1792, p. 5.

In March of that year the *Chronique de Paris* had reported the seizure at Passy of thirteen million livres of assignats, which had indicated the scale of the problem, although there was confusion about which counter-revolutionary body was responsible.[76] Counterfeit assignats forcibly asserted émigré agency in the Revolution in the most dramatic fashion. This was backed by a partisan émigré press which reversed revolutionary rhetoric to accuse France's leaders of the corrupt use of devalued assignats for their own ends (Ill. 1.44).[77] The production and dissemination of these fake notes reveal that counterfeiting was motivated as often by political as social interests, and that the assignat was understood in a very real sense as an instrument of both economic warfare and private fraud.

As a circulating currency, assignats were involved in a spatial politics which had profound implications for both their production and reception. One of the responses to the deterioration of legitimacy brought about by the counterfeit was to ensure that assignats were made in conditions of secrecy which prevented would-be counterfeiters from getting hold of assignat plates, paper and *matrices*, or acquiring valuable information about the techniques used in the manufacturing process. As one requisition of a printer to work in the manufacture of assignats demonstrates (Ill. 1.45), workers at the government centres for assignat production were forced to submit to a technology of national security which overlapped with other areas of bureaucracy. One document, dated 26 nivôse year IV (16th January 1796), carries, in the manner of contemporary identity documents, a manuscript 'signalement' listing the physical characteristics of the bearer: one Nicolas-Louis Vattier, printer, native of Paris, twenty-seven years old, living at number eight rue Aubry-Bouches, brown hair and eyebrows, ordinary forehead, big nose, grey eyes, medium mouth, round face and chin, height five foot five inches.[78]

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[76] *Chronique de Paris*, 14th March 1792.

[77] S.Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792-1814*, Woodbridge and Rochester, 2000, p. 149. Burrows explains that although the émigré press was deeply divided on many issues, the campaign to destabilise confidence in the assignat was a constant preoccupation (p. 178).

[78] See my chapter three for an extensive discussion of this type of document, and the meanings attributable to this kind of personal description. An acknowledgment of the Revolution's frailty provoked an intensification of the harrassment of perceived 'outsiders', reflected in the security measures undertaken at the Government Centres. Employing racist physiognomical assumptions to critique the unpatriotic speculators who sold *petits assignats* at the door of the Palais-Royal, Hébert's Père Duchesne describes how 'jean-foutres', with '[...] un air triste, une figure blême' and 'un nez allongé' are responsible for the downfall of the nation, whilst anti-semitism resurfaces in many accusations of fraud or theft involving assignats, physically specific stereotypes appearing justified by a fear of Counter-Revolution and the 'contagious' effects of counterfeiting. Hébert, *Grand-colère*

Workers at the government centres were required to carry identity cards at all times, and were sworn to confidentiality, a system which contradicted all declarations of industrial transparency. Equally, counterfeiters were bound by a code of silence which resulted from both their own desire to prevent detection and their incarceration once caught. Prison did not stop many counterfeiters, and as often as not counterfeiting operations were the outcome of imprisonment for very different crimes; prison proving the ideal environment in which to acquire necessary contacts and knowledge. Furthermore, distributers of assignats printed abroad, when captured, were also accommodated at Châtelet, la Conciergerie, la Force, l'Abbaye and Bicêtre prisons.[79] As a result, both official and non-official assignat production was based on a closed-shop mentality which put a high premium on the discovery and examination of the others' work. In effect legal and illicit manufacture were in competition against one another for the same market, despite their apparent ontological difference.

If prisons were an appropriately ironic place for the manufacture of counterfeits, the spaces chosen to make officially sanctioned assignats were no less rich in meaning. Initial issues of assignats were produced in a variety of printing *ateliers*, as well as on Anisson-Duperron's press at the Imprimerie Royale, later Imprimerie Nationale. Yet in 1791, by the order of the Director General for the Fabrication of Assignats, production was transferred to the monastery of the Petits-Augustins on the Place Vendôme, a move which necessitated the displacement of the collection of natural history housed there. More and more parts of the monastery were appropriated to

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du Père Duchesne contre les coquins que vendent et font vendre les petits assignats à la porte du Palais-Royal, et sa malédiction sur tous les agioteurs in: F.Braesch ed., *Le Père Duchesne d'Hébert, vol. 1.*, Paris, 1938, pp. 528-529. See also: *Plainte en escroquerie par Jacques Delalande, prêtre, député du baillage d'Evreux à l'Assemblée Nationale, contre deux juifs qu'il avait fait venir pour négocier des assignats, et qui les avaient volés en faisant semblant de les renfermer dans une boîte cachetée*, Minute, A.P., Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de police (Roule), 7 juillet 1791. In addition, Boyer-Brun, following his discussion of *L'Homme aux assignats*, recounts the depreciation of his money at the hands of a caricatured Jewish speculator known as M.Rafle [Raffle!]. M.Boyer-Brun, op. cit., pp. 374-375.

[79] Police records demonstrate that the municipal authorities were aware of the risk of counterfeiting in these prisons. See: *Procès-verbal de visite à la Conciergerie pour la recherche de planches servant à fabriquer les faux assignats, avec l'interrogatoire des nommés Lambert et Cauchois, prisonniers*, Minutes, A.P., Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de Police (Pont-Neuf), 16-18 juin 1791. However, as other documents demonstrate, these suspicions were not unfounded. See: *Procès-verbal de perquisition à la Force, dans les chambres de deux détenus, soupçonnés de fabriquer des faux assignats*, Minutes, A.P., Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de police (Homme-Armé), 23 août 1791.

accommodate the presses, as production increased in earnest. On the 5th July 1792 the monastery of the Petits-Pères and that of the Grands-Augustins on the Place des Victoires were similarly claimed by the Revolution, following an appeal by Finance Minister Clavière to Roland, Minister of the Interior.[80] Finally, on 7th September 1792, the Convent of the Capucines joined the Petits-Augustins in the assignat-making centre of the Place Vendôme.[81] As one commentator observed with approbation: 'Les biens immenses, les luxes fastueux du clergé, étoient sans doute un vol fait à la société, un scandal public pour les moeurs.'[82] By reclaiming the property of the clergy this theft was repaid and public morality redressed.

A direct response to the challenge of counterfeit production, the centralisation of assignat manufacture in two prominent Parisian spaces was both a declaration of institutional transparency and an attempt to make sure that in real terms quite the opposite was the case. The convents and monasteries were suitably imposing buildings with adequate security and ready-made spaces for the insertion of large-scale printing equipment. However, the practical requirements of fabrication were matched by an equally imposing symbolic resonance. Both the Place Vendôme and the Place des Victoires were disputed territories. Dominated until 11th August 1792 by statues of Louis XIV, these spaces were subject to a conscious programme of iconoclasm in the months just before and immediately after their redesignation as centres of assignat manufacture. As Prieur and Berthault's print demonstrates (Ill. 1.46), this was a concerted and calculated attempt to resignify these architectural exemplars of royal publicness, transforming them into reclaimed, transparent loci of Republican utility.[83] Furthermore, the emptied pedestals which remained in the centre of the squares provided a conveniently evacuated focus for the ritual reallocation of meaning, the base in the Place Vendôme proving ideal for David's staging of Lepeletier's body before his Panthéonisation in January 1793.[84]

The Place des Victoires was, although towards the geographical centre of Paris, seldom a focus for the great festivals of the Revolution, whose cortèges generally

[80] A.N. F[4]1013.
[81] A.Mercier, op. cit., p. 11.
[82] *Ah! Les M..., comme ils vendent la nation!*, Paris, 1790, p. 5.
[83] See: R.S.Clay, 'The Power of Signs: Iconoclasm in Paris, 1789-1795', unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, 2000, for an extended discussion of revolutionary iconoclasm in these spaces.
[84] See: L.Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, Berkeley, 1992, p. 74.

navigated the new symbolic geography of Paris, before culminating at the recently created Champ de Mars, the capital's new ceremonial hub. Apart from Mirabeau's Panthéonisation and the festival of 9 Thermidor year IV (27th July 1796), revolutionary ritual processions appear to have studiously avoided this Ancien-Régime relic in their attempt to memorialise symbolically a new revolutionary space. As Mona Ozouf remarks, 'Donner à une ville un autre centre, c'est distribuer différeniment [sic] en elle, l'accessoire et l'essentiel, et plus encore le profane et le sacré.'[85] Thus the Place des Victoires is unsuitable for the revolutionary ceremonial, given its profane status as a centre for the production of money and its situation in the centre of the city. I would argue that by this point the authority of the assignat had been sufficiently contested to make its presence in a revolutionary ceremonial problematic as a signifier of revolutionary transformation, yet by systematising space in these metaphorically distinct terms the technology of money production, and by extension the money itself, could be rendered protean and worldly, naturalising the use of paper as money, and inversely, denaturalising, in the prison, the production of counterfeits.

For obvious reasons, counterfeits destabilise representation, their simulation of original notes proving difficult to translate pictorially. This is complicated by the fact that, far more than other subjects of 'realistic' representation, any depiction of money is open to characterisation as a counterfeit, an accusation based upon the discourses of authenticity which surround money itself, a meta-narrative which is particularly apparent in the case of paper money.[86] Pierre Vivé's defence of a young deaf-mute man accused of imitating, during the harsh winter of 1795, five and ten livres notes, to the value of forty-five livres, in pencil and pen, is instructive in this regard.[87] The culprit, Louis Baudonnet, was apprehended in a cake shop trying to spend his counterfeits, which were extremely crudely made, but was

[85] M.Ozouf, 'Les cortèges révolutionnaires', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, no. 5, September-October 1971, p. 894.

[86] Witness, for instance the representation of money by American *trompe-l'oeil* painters of the late nineteenth century, such as Otis Kaye (1885-1974), Nicholas Brooks (1840-1904), William Harnett (1848-1892) or John Frederick Peto (1854-1907). This form of representation encouraged a 1909 Bill of Congress which banned all non-official copies of American money. Its invocation of ideas surrounding authenticity, reproduction, social critique and authority of the art object made the representation of money a popular subject for American Pop artists, such as Warhol and Rauschenberg, later in the twentieth century. For an account of contemporary artists' fascination with money see: K.Siegel and P.Mattick eds., *Money*, London, 2004.

eventually acquitted due to his lack of intention to defraud. The case hinged on Baudonnet's misunderstanding of the phrase 'la loi punit de mort le contrefacteur', which he had painstakingly copied onto each note, signing, like all counterfeiters, an admission of guilt and potential death sentence. Baudonnet's lack of comprehension allowed him to argue that his notes were mere drawings, rather than counterfeits, and that there was no malicious intent.

As an image produced for a counter-revolutionary audience, a print such as *L'Homme aux assignats* would not, in any case, represent counterfeiting, instead reversing the idea of monetary 'theft' onto its recognisable revolutionary subjects so as to retain the insidious and secretive character of the counterfeiting projects, which the publishers of the print would no doubt have supported. Nevertheless, this image, which invokes ideas of theft, of falsehood, of legitimacy and bodily fragmentation and situates them in an environment, and about a person devoted to maintaining the security and authority of the assignat, is implicated in the challenge to the political authenticity of paper money which counterfeiting explicitly represented.

Making and faking 2: Marat

Jacques-Louis David's iconic martyr-portrait of 1793, *Marat à son dernier soupir* (Ill. 1.47), stages in vivid, if now familiar relief, a drama of partisan revolutionary commitment. However, assessing the position in this capacity of Marat, David, or Marat's absented assassin Charlotte Corday, is not my intention here. I want to focus instead on a stage within a stage, a part of the painting where meaning is formed at the level of narrative; a visual parallel to the exhibition of Marat in his bath in which fully inanimate objects are presented as political bodies analogous to that of the martyr.

On the sparse wooden box on which David inscribed his own agency, between two letters, one signifying Corday's guilt, the other Marat's virtue, sits a lone, folded assignat, the sharp Didot typeface of the 'A' clearly legible. In David's painting the assignat is squarely and inflexibly located as an attribute of Marat and the radical

[87] P.Vivé, *Cause célebre; sourd-muet de naissance, convaincu d'avoir contrefait des Assignats au crayon et à la plume. Défendu par Pierre Vivé, second Instituteur des Sourd-Muets devant le Tribunel Criminel du Département de la Gironde, séant à Bordeaux*, Paris, 1796.

Jacobinism for which he stood. The fact of its significance is clear, even if this significance itself is polysemic and not immediately comprehensible. The assignat represented Marat's last act, the gift of hard-won money to a virtuous mother in need, and thus communicated his own unparalleled, self-advertised political integrity, his self-identification as the friend of the people.[88] The physical proximity of Marat's letter to the note reinforces this allegiance, whilst his hand, as a dying gesture, raises the letter with which Corday had gained access to Marat's apartment away from it. David's sporadic involvement in the design of assignats is worth noting, yet another signifier of his authorship of 'Marat' and his self-association with the idealising rhetoric of the painting.[89]

Perhaps, too, Marat's rabid 'outing' of counter-revolutionaries, his demands for political and moral transparency, his loathing of counterfeiting or dissimulation in all areas of public and private life, and his claims for authenticity, are all bound up in this fragile little scrap of paper. The lone assignat on the primitive desk, carries here, as T.J.Clark has cryptically observed, a 'freight of meaning.'[90] Although Clark is unwilling to ascribe to the assignat an agency equal to the other components of the painting, he nonetheless considers it less an ephemeral component of the painting's still-life aspect than something akin to a Barthesian 'punctum' which, once noticed, crystallises and relativises an ideal of political commitment: a conflict resolved in death at the point of the assignat's representation.[91] The centenary of the Revolution in 1889 provided an opportunity to renegotiate the memory of the assignat in this context, in the appropriately

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[88] H.Weston, 'The Corday-Marat Affair' in: W.Vaughan and H.Weston eds., *David's 'Death of Marat'*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 134-135. Although by 1793 the assignat had depreciated sufficiently to make the gesture of Marat/David somewhat futile, this image indicates the centrality of the assignat to revolutionary perceptions of moral, if not economic, value.

[89] This 'involvement' pertains to David's participation, alongside other artists including Pajou, Moitte and Gois, on the selection jury set up to select stamps for forthcoming assignats. In this role David and his colleagues paid far more attention to the more conventional medal format (which provided the basis for the stamp) than the assignat as a complete entity. See: J.-C.Benzaken, 'David et la numismatique' in: R.Michel ed., *David contre David, Tome 2*, Paris, 1993, p. 972. This claim is supported by the existence of an isolated drawing of the *génie* of the Constitution intended for the *timbre sec* of the assignat of five livres, 10 brumaire year II (31st October 1793), signed by David in his role as arbiter of artistic quality, with the approving appellation: 'sauf quelques légères corrections.' M.N.T. Arch. Assignats/27.

[90] T.J.Clark, 'Painting in the Year II', *Representations*, 47, Summer 1994, p. 53.

[91] 'Marat's *assignat* is densely coded, then. Of course I am not saying that it possesses the kind of visual weight which belongs to the other players in the scene. One might almost say that it is meant to be overlooked. But only in the manner of Poe's Hidden Letter'. T.J.Clark, ibid., p. 53. Clark's employment of a language of mass and heaviness ('freight of meaning', 'visual weight') is

marginal form of a chromolithographic advertising card produced by the famous Bognard company for a chicory coffee substitute, which imaginatively toys with scale to make clear what was there all along – the assignat's pivotal role as primary subject and liminal terrain between the testimonies of Marat and his assassin Charlotte Corday (Ill. 1.48).[92]

My point is not that assignats are rendered political by their inclusion within such a self-consciously political work of art, but rather, that they were chosen for privileged incorporation into this painting precisely because they had already achieved a pronounced political agency of their own. Whereas the assignat is normatively politicised only in relation to its employment as an economic exigency by prominent, socially elite, revolutionary actors, I would argue that assignats, via the conditions of their manufacture, everyday circulation and the meanings they subsequently absorbed, played a converse, manipulative role in the construction of these archetypal political identities. The use of an assignat as an attribute is bound up with all the meanings which the assignat had acquired prior to its employment in this capacity. David's *Marat* presents an institutional response to the attack on the assignat so clearly articulated two years earlier in images such as *L'Homme aux Assignats*, an assault which achieved its most complex resolution in the counterfeit note and the means employed to defend against it.

Camus and Marat present us with very different 'hommes aux assignats' – although they are both revolutionary figures, the motivations behind the images' production were diametrically opposed, whilst their association with the paper money proceeds from distinct circumstances. Nevertheless, both engage with the subject of political legitimacy, with the assignat as medium of critique or, in the case of the painting, positive propaganda. Both images centre on the represented body as a site of disintegration or immortality, invoking of course the attendant fear in both

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interesting, given the context of a discussion of 'weightless' paper and politically 'heavy' individuals. See my p. 34, n62.

[92] The dramatic nature of Corday's assassination of Marat seems to have ensured that it was one of the most popular subjects for this type of card, whose use of the assignat motif, is, by virtue of its prominence in David's version, particularly poignant. See my chapter four pp. 243-244. On the advertising card as it appeared in the late eighteenth century see: K.Scott, 'The Waddesdon Manor Trade Cards: More Than One History', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2004, pp. 91-104. For a fascinating analysis of the relationship between memory and exaggerations in scale see: S.Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Durham and London, 1993, pp. 70-103.

examples that the opposite should be the case. David's use of Marat's assignat to denote the journalist's political and moral authenticity is, I argue, derived from the very lack of authenticity which plagued the assignat at the time of the image's production. The presence of the assignat in this context is an institutional rebuttal of the damage counterfeiting was doing: by associating the assignat with Marat, David appears to bolster the assignat's legitimacy, whose authenticity would reflexively confirm that of Marat. In short, painting and paper collaborated to achieve the same ends.

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The diversity of counterfeiters' occupations and their motives for counterfeiting were paralleled in the variety of forms the counterfeit took. Even Deperey, 'Vérificateur en Chef des Assignats', was forced to admit that 'il est impossible de donner de procès-verbaux des signes de fausseté de toutes des espèces de faux assignats répandus dans la circulation; le nombre en seroit trop grand.'[93] Deperey continued to submit a lengthy list, detailing the ways in which a false assignat could be distinguished from the genuine article. The best method, he declared, was to compare each assignat with one known to be correct, whereby 'il suffit d'un coup d'oeil juste pour saisir les formes et mesurer les espaces.'[94]

Deperey's technique demonstrates the extent to which the visuality of an assignat was a condition of its legitimacy. Furthermore, it corresponds with revolutionary convictions about the Enlightened attainment of simplicity via the complex technology of scientific observation,[95] for he concludes his report by stating that 'machines à verifier' were to be installed in all public banks by order of the National Convention.[96] These machines, which were, it seems, never produced on any great scale, appear to have been frames laid over the suspect notes, upon which

[93] G.Deperey, *Le vérificateur en chef des assignats à ses Concitoyens. Remarques générales sur les faux assignats*, Paris, n.d., p. 1.
[94] G.Deperey, ibid., p. 2.
[95] The Revolution adopted a scientific rhetoric of the perfectibility of nature for its political advantage. Revolutionary figures as diverse as Condorcet, Franklin, Bailly, Brissot and Marat came from scientific backgrounds or had published scientific texts, yet as Marie-Hélène Huet demonstrates, definitions of 'science' and 'Enlightenment', especially when conceived in relation to the political science of law, were mutable and subject to diverse interpretation according to the regime in power. M.-H.Huet, *Mourning Glory: The Will of the French Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 9-31.

several features were marked for correspondance, or a system of reflecting mirrors which allowed comparison between a suspect note and an authenticated original. This form of assessment would have been useful, for some notes, such as a two hundred livres note from the 16th and 17th April 1790 (Ill. 1.49), utilised typographic 'secrets' – in this case an extended left-hand upright to the 'N' of 'Nationale' – which counterfeiters may have inadvertently corrected, making, in effect, a copy truer than the original.[97] The visuality of assignats, in accordance with the secrecy of their production, frequently operated at a hidden or fugitive level. Competition for production of these verifying machines was fierce, as the numerous appeals for patronage submitted to the National Convention by the 'ingénieur méchanicien' Jean Godefroi Mercklein attest.[98]

Whatever the mechanism used, the central process remained a close examination of the paper note, wherein the observer could detect minor alterations in paper, ink or type. On the 1st June, 1790, in advance of the actual appearance of the assignat as a national currency, the National Assembly had ordered the foundation of *Bureaux de vérification* in every major town. This order was never fulfilled, and counterfeiting was not subjected to consistent institutional surveillance until June 1792, when a committee comprising De Surgy, Delaître and De la Marche (whose death warrant David was later to sign[99]) were charged with the examination and verification of suspect notes, and the authentication of assignats was placed under the control of the Government Centres for the fabrication of assignats, headed by De la Marche.[100] The institution of a sub-body specifically charged with the verification of assignats, led by Deperey, was not accomplished until very late, on the 4th January 1793, whilst offices for the authentication of assignats were not placed on national borders until 13 ventôse year II (3rd March 1794), a calamitous delay, considering the quantity of forged notes entering France from abroad.[101] In contrast to this strategy, the scientist Lavoisier suggested an alternative to the fetishisation of similitude as the only guarantee of authenticity, arguing that counterfeiting would be made more difficult by the adoption of more areas of difference, as the more complex the

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[96] G.Deperey, op. cit., p. 8.
[97] M.Muszynski, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
[98] See for instance: J.G.Mercklein l'aîné, *Pétition à la Convention Nationale*, Paris, 1792.
[99] A.Jammes, *Les Didot: Trois siècles de typographie et de bibliophilie, 1698-1998*, exh. cat., Paris and Lyon, 1998, p. 17.
[100] J.Bouchary, op. cit., p. 107.
[101] J.Bouchary, ibid., p. 109.

technical attributes of a particular note, the more expensive it would prove to counterfeit.[102] In practice a combination of techniques exploiting both similarity and difference were employed, sometimes at the same time.

Determining the identity of the assignat required an intimate knowledge of its technological construction: one had to know what exactly to look for. Assistance was available in the form of numerous *procès-verbaux des signes caractéristiques*, which supplied exhaustive detail on the many checks necessary to ensure proof of authenticity. Likewise, the *Tableau* produced by Deperey in 1794 comprised an extensive list of comparisons between real and false assignats, including their most recent *procès-verbal* description and their most prominent distinguishing features – a body of information which analysed the counterfeit assignat as if it were itself a criminal.[103] Surrounding these documents, and the many laws passed around assignats, was a set of parallel discourses of legitimacy and security. Always concluding 'certifié conforme à l'original', these printed anti-counterfeiting documents were similarly implicated in a rhetoric of authenticity, which, in the wrong hands, could ironically prove an effective guide to the construction of perfect forgeries, a shortcoming which attests to a circularity of motivation and practice between the detection and production of fake assignats.

Via 'une heureuse application de principes mathématiques,'[104] Mercklein's anti-counterfeiting devices raised the possibility of consistent detection. Yet the technology for eliminating non-official production was ineffectual whilst similitude could not be guaranteed in the production of official paper notes. Camus, who part-authored his own reputation by publishing a book on the development of stereotype printing which historicised and acclaimed the technologies of the assignat, noted how a cursory examination of counterfeits and counterfeiting procedures demonstrated that:

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[102] A.L.Lavoisier, *Réflexions générales sur la fabrication des assignats*, Paris, 1793, p. 1.
[103] G.Deperey, *Tableau des différentes espèces d'assignats faux, imprimés, soit en lettres, soit en taille douce, qui ont paru dans la circulation jusqu'au 21 septembre de l'an 2e. de la République française, une et indivisible*, Paris, 1794.
[104] J.G.Mercklein, op. cit., p. 1.

> [...] le premier contrefacteur d'assignats étoit le Gouvernement lui-même, puisque, hors la première planche dont on se servoit, toutes les autres n'étoient que les imitations et des copies plus ou moins fidèles.[105]

Camus's discovery of institutionalised counterfeiting is not an accusation of criminal goings-on in government office. Rather, he is referring to the inability of the printmaking process to deal with the vast quantity of assignats requiring printing; a failure which made the detection of counterfeits nearly impossible and significantly blurred the boundaries between official and non-official notes.

For when Augustin de Saint-Aubin was asked to engrave the king's profile for the first issue of assignats, it became apparent that a single copper plate would not withstand millions of imprints. Moreover, even if the plate did survive, the process would be sufficiently time-consuming to be prohibitive. Saint-Aubin engraved up to three hundred plates of the king's head, each one, despite the artist's best efforts, deviating slightly from the first engraved.[106] As a result the very insignia chosen to indicate authenticity, the king's head, functioned as a destabilising presence on the note. In this context, how were revolutionary image makers and law givers supposed to determine the true from the false? Where, in Saint-Aubin's multiple 'states', was an original able to withstand scrutiny as a paradigm of authenticity, with all the attendant cultural and economic ramifications that this implied?

Perhaps for these reasons Deperey urged the reader to seek the true assignat, not in the image, but in the text, and the devices used to frame the image. Whereas images were susceptible to the 'génie de l'Artiste qui les a composés,'[107] the same could not be said of 'lettres', which, he claimed, articulated a far more objective, not to mention virtuous, stance on reality. Deperey suggests that one should pay particular attention to letters which required particular skill to produce, such as S, s, R, r, E, e, A, and a,[108] contributing, despite his suspicion of artistic agency, to a belief that the master printer alone could produce types where perfection resided in

[105] A.G.Camus, *Histoire...*, op. cit., p. 83.
[106] This figure (proposed by Camus) has been disputed. Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer and Alain Mercier claim that Saint-Aubin produced 102 plates rather than the 202 he himself suggested. J.Veyrin-Forrer and A.Mercier, op. cit., p. 27.
[107] G.Deperey, *Le vérificateur...*, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
[108] G.Deperey, ibid., p. 5.

'[...] la pureté, la régularité, la netteté de dessin.'[109] Invoking the language of neo-classical architecture, Deperey praised 'la pureté et la hardiesse qui existent dans la gravure de ces lettres,'[110] approving their 'caractère', a term of commendation common to contemporary architectural treatises, which linked formal to moral characteristics.[111] Elsewhere, parity of form, the existence of equidistant, parallel capital letters, is confirmed as a given feature of the genuine note. This is an attribute shared by the symmetrical archetype of classical architectural capitals, whose association with the ideal and unmediated is invoked to the advantage of the assignat. This classical language of typeface is perhaps unsurprising in an era where so much projected architecture never made it beyond the page. With architecture as text and text as architecture a rhetoric of solidity and authenticity is established that confirms printed text as a signifier of structural and monetary legitimacy.

The Didot family's self-aggrandising *Épître sur les progrès de l'imprimerie* likewise concludes in terms which valorise print culture's absorption of high-cultural, perfectible and defiantly 'artistic' tropes, the final setting of the Didot type being conducted with such exactitude '[...] that the finest hair laid at random, anywhere on its surface, caught under the rule, breaks under the slightest pressure.'[112] Both Pierre and Firmin Didot were heavily involved in the design and typesetting of assignats. Indeed, despite the eventual failure of the assignat, the continual pursuit of similitude and the governmental monopoly which it brought to bear did the firm no harm at all, establishing Didot as the pre-eminent name in French typography for many years to come.[113] Although printing was a traditionally male preserve which operated a protectionist policy of hostility to

[109] G.Deperey, ibid., p. 3.
[110] G.Deperey, ibid., p. 5.
[111] See: A.Vidler, 'The Theatre of Production: Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and the Architecture of Social Reform', *AA Files*, vol. 1, no.1, Winter 1981-1982, p. 62. On the architecture of this period see: J.A.Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France 1789-1799*, Montreal and Kingston, 1991 and A.Picon, *Architectes et ingénieurs au siècle des lumières*, Marseille, 1988.
[112] Didot, fils aîné, *Épître sur les progrès de l'imprimerie*, trans. by A.J.George, Syracuse, 1961 [1784], p. 38.
[113] See: C.M.Osborne, 'Pierre Didot the Elder and French Book Illustration, 1789-1822', published doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 1979. In fact, hyperinflation meant that notes were required as fast as they could be printed, although perversely, printers were paid with the same depreciating notes they had themselves produced.

external intervention,[114] women were increasingly involved at some level, although particularly in the more tedious or menial fields of typesetting and bookbinding.[115] This was accomplished in the face of a Rousseauist discourse which encouraged figures as diverse as Rétif de la Bretonne and Chaumette to rail against women achieving an independent education, and which attributed to women a natural affinity for dissimulation and the 'counterfeiting' of appearances.[116] More than a quarter of the workforce at the Firmin-Didot bookselling and typefounding workshops were women,[117] whilst in 1791 a Madame de Bastide initiated a women's school of typography, which combined a 'civic school for women' with a traditional apprenticeship-based training. Although the civic school was suppressed, the typography school opened in 1793.[118] Counting the Committee of Public Safety amongst its clients, the school faced industry opposition, but appears to have lasted, with considerable success, until at least 1795.[119]

Given Firmin-Didot's involvement in assignat production, and the supposed suitability of women to finicky or 'sedentary' tasks, it is apparent that women played a role in the manufacture of assignats, even under the institutional misogyny of the Terror. A lack of material on this subject contrasts with the flourishing gendering of counterfeit note production. Women were assumed to be more susceptible to the temptations of Counter-Revolution, whatever their engagement with revolutionary politics, and it appears that Hébert's 'lumpen-intelligentsia' mouthpiece Père Duchesne was not alone in suspecting that, in relation to assignats

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[114] See: R.Darnton, 'Worker's Revolt...,' op. cit., pp. 75-104 which documents a case of socio-political antagonism in the printing trade.

[115] The involvement of women in the production of assignats is a subject which has received surprisingly little attention to date. Elsewhere, the assignat acts as a medium of historical knowledge - Dominique Godineau tells us that the lists of workers provided in 1790 and 1791 by employers who wished to exchange large assignats for small notes that could be used for payment, are among the most reliable evidence for the prominent role women played in the Parisian workforce at this time. D.Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, trans. by Katherine Streip, Berkeley CA, 1988, p. 58.

[116] 'Dissimulation was also described in the eighteenth century as a characteristically feminine quality, not just an aristocratic one. According to both Montesquieu and Rousseau, it was women who taught men how to dissimulate [...] The sexuality of women, when operating in the public sphere through dissimulation, threatened to feminize men – that is, literally to transform men's bodies.' L.Hunt, op. cit., pp. 97-98. 'Une femme qui ne plaît pas est un être nul' [Rétif de la Bretonne]; 'Depuis quand est-il permis aux femmes d'abjurer leur sexe, de se faire des hommes? Depuis quand est-il décent de voir des femmes abandonner les soins pieux de leur ménage, le berceau de leurs enfants, pour venir sur la place publique...?' [Chaumette, *Séance de la Commune du 28 brumaire, décembre 1794*]. In: S.Bianchi, *La révolution culturelle de l'an II: élites et peuple 1789-1799*, Paris, 1982, p. 247.

[117] D.Godineau, op. cit., p. 60. This comprised 107 people, including 47 apprentices.

[118] *Pétition à la Convention Nationale pour l'école typographique des femmes*, Paris, 1794.

'les femmes sont dangereuses.'[120] Judgements passed on accused counterfeiters repeatedly refer to women as deceitful figures engaged in dangerous levels of 'publicness,'[121] a transgression intrinsic to Republican ideology, which was, according to Joan Landes 'so deeply inflected by gender [...] that, when women attempted to enact openly its program of political virtue, they were accused of violating nature, propriety and decency. In effect, there was no way womens' behaviour could be absolutely transparent.'[122]

Eager to send men to war, the government needed to staff the presses required for large-scale print production at the Government Workshops, which were largely independent from the rest of the printing trade. Women appear to have been keen to work in these establishments, one Marie-Victoire d'Hautancourt citing 'l'exemple de plusieurs femmes employées dans les Atteliers de la fabrication des Assignats' as the inspiration for her request to work in the factory. Furthermore, d'Hautancourt sees in this opportunity 'une ressource, dont l'Education quelle a recue, la met a portée de profiter.'[123] Assignat production may have been one other form of employment in hard times, but it allowed women greater access to a sphere of work from which they were ordinarily excluded, and with it the opportunity to transgress the normative Republican prohibition against womens' education, paradoxically from the centre of one of its most secretive and exclusive institutions.[124]

The first assignats were relatively simple images, which accounts for the speed with which they were forged. The government and print industry had to find a method

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[119] D.Godineau, op. cit., pp. 68-70.

[120] *Observations bougrement patriotiquess du Père Duchesne sur les Assignats, &c.*, Paris, n.d., p. 3. George Kelly coins the word 'lumpen-intelligentsia' to describe Marat's popular politics. G.A.Kelly, *Victims, Authority and Terror: The Parallel Deaths of d'Orléans, Custine, Bailly and Malesherbes*, Chapel Hill, 1982, p. 182.

[121] See: *Précis de l'affaire des faux assignats saisis à Paris le jour de Pâques, 24 avril 1791, a juger au VIe. tribunal d'arrondissement*, Paris, 1792, p. 1. One of the accused, Dunan, is referred to as a 'domestique sans place,' a description which indicated prostitution.

[122] J.B.Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of Revolution*, Ithaca and London, 1988, p. 165.

[123] *Requête de Marie-Victoire d'Hautancourt, pour être employée à la fabrication des assignats.* M.N.T. Arch. Assignats/24.

[124] The pedagogical iconography of the assignat contributed to the representation of the Nation and the Law, not to mention Liberty and Equality, in female form. However, this type of allegorisation reduced women to classicised ciphers of unrealisable virtue which appeared in stark contrast to women's own active role in the Revolution. On the representation of female 'Liberty' figures see, in particular: M.Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans. by Janet Lloyd, Cambridge, 1981. The changing use of female allegories, especially as

by which they could make sure that each assignat exactly resembled another, the first step in ensuring protection against counterfeiting. The development of stereotyping and polytyping made this transition possible, finally solving the problem posed by Saint-Aubin's deviations from the original. Rather than each artist having to make a large quantity of duplicate plates, a single plate could by this method be infinitely reproduced, ensuring perfect similitude between assignats, and the establishment of a standard of faith by which assignats could be judged. For the first few years of their production, assignats were made by bringing together a set of diverse elements, the engravings, types and borders, within a metal frame, known as the *forme* or 'skeleton', from which an image was printed.[125] Completed *formes* of the same note were variable and had a limited lifespan, whilst the components were liable to slippage within the *forme* during the printing process. This procedure also limited the quantity of assignats which could be produced, as each sheet of paper would have to be printed several times from the same *forme*.

Notes were produced according to this technique until 13 pluviôse year I (1st February 1793), when stereotyping was introduced to the Government Workshops. In this method, strips of copper, or *matrices*, featuring the engravings, were again attached to the *forme*, which also held the typefaces (Ill. 1.50). This was then stamped, with a mechanised *mouton à clicher*, into a viscous, recooling mixture of lead, antimony and tin, which yielded the fragmented elements of the composition, the type, line and ornament, as a single plate, or *cliché*.[126] Unlike conventional printing procedures, the *forme* stamped into the mixture was a negative rendering which resembled the completed assignat, rather than a reversed, positive image, like the *cliché* which resulted, from which the assignats were printed. As a result, assignat *formes* could be composed in a visually 'correct' manner, allowing greater speed and ease of production. Gatteaux recognised the revolutionary impact that stereotyping would have on assignat production, for whereas in the past 'on a essayé de graver un Assignat d'une seule pièce, moyen d'assurer de la parfaite

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they appeared in revolutionary festivals, is discussed in: V.P.Cameron, *Woman as Image and Image-Maker in Paris during the French Revolution*, PhD thesis, Yale University, 1983.

[125] A bodily and familial language of description pervaded the technologies of printing equipment in the eighteenth century, from the *poinçons-mères* and *poinçons-filles* of copper-engraving to the humanising of the press itself. For a contemporary account of printer's slang see: A.-F.Momoro, *Traité élémentaire de l'imprimerie, ou le manuel de l'imprimeur*, Paris, 1796.

ressemblance,'[127] from this point onwards neither such technical virtuosity nor the fragmented body of elements used previously would be necessary, and a single relief plate could be infinitely reproduced in perfect similitude to the original model.

Perfect similitude was the ultimate objective for assignat makers both legitimate and illegal. 'Citoyen' Poissault's *Eveil aux artistes sur la fabrication des assignats* extols 'la nécessité d'arrêter, par les moyens efficaces, le torrent de la contre-faction.'[128] For Poissault, the competition decreed by the Legislative Assembly on 13 thermidor year I (31st July 1793) to find a way to 'perfectionner les assignats' was a solution to this crisis, although his interest in assignats waned when he realised that his design for a stamp had been copied by Dupeyrat, a rival artist. The judging committee for this competition included artists Sergent-Marceau and David, whose prominent positions indicate the regard with which the artistic aspect of the assignat was held. Similarly bitter rivalries were provoked between artists Gatteaux and Droz, the latter responding vociferously to slights in a text by Gatteaux which was predominantly concerned with the best means to perfect the assignat.[129] Yet even the multiple reproduction of the plates used to print assignats, and the guarantee of perfect similitude within assignat production could not guarantee indefinitely against counterfeiting. Worryingly, assignats certified as real were often revealed as fakes after a period of time. The threat which the counterfeit posed to the credibility of the money it simulated was proportionate to the length of this 'becoming time'. The responsibility of police, judicial and legislative authorities, not to mention the ever-present 'dénonciateur,'[130] was to eliminate or shorten the time leading up to disclosure, and the application of a further layer of

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[126] A.Mercier, op. cit., p. 31. The lead weight attached to the guillotine blade was also known as the *mouton*, whilst *clichage* took place in a long vertical cabinet whose formal similarities to the mechanism of the guillotine provided ample opportunity for gallows humour.

[127] N.-M.Gatteaux quoted in: A.Mercier, ibid., p. 31.

[128] Le Citoyen Poissault, *Eveil aux artistes sur la fabrication des assignats*, Paris, 1793, p. 1.

[129] N.-M.Gatteaux, *Aperçu sur la fabrication des assignats*, Paris, 1793; J.-P.Droz, *Réponse du citoyen Droz à un écrit du citoyen Gatteaux ayant pour titre 'Aperçu sur la fabrication des assignats'*, Paris, n.d.; J.-P.Droz, *Réplique de J.-P.Droz aux citoyens Gatteaux et Herhan*, Paris, n.d.

[130] A law of 27th February 1792 ensured that any person engaged in counterfeiting who chose to denounce their accomplices would, if material proof were found, escape their punishment. See: *Loi relative aux fabricateurs & distributeurs de faux assignats & de faux monnoie, donnée à Paris, le 27 février, 1792*, Paris, 1792, p. 5. A consequence of this was that *dénonciateurs* often outnumbered their victims, ensuring a successful conviction. This was the case in the famous trial of Lamievet and Dunan, condemned on the evidence of five former accomplices. See: *Précis de l'affaire des faux assignats saisis à Paris le jour de Pâques...*, op. cit., p. 2.

print, this time reading 'ANNULÉ' or 'FAUX' in capitalised text, with a manuscript procès-verbal detailing the nature of the crime on the verso side. Counterfeit assignats were archived as a safeguard against the repetition of similar imitations, entering the mushrooming apparatus of revolutionary bureaucracy as annotated criminal histories.[131]

Paper itself joined the array of devices designed to ensure entrapment. No longer was paper to be reduced to '[...] the function or topos of an inert surface laid under marks, a substratum designed to uphold them, to assure their survival or subsistence.'[132] Inlaid watermarks bearing patriotic inscriptions functioned as 'webs' to snare counterfeiters, materialising the revolutionary ideal of political transparency.[133] Unlike the metal currency of the Ancien Régime, watermarked paper currency was made to be seen through – its meaning only became apparent when held up to the light, marking an Enlightened difference from the opaque monetary and moral signifiers of absolute monarchy. Ironically, this served to accentuate the fragility and ephemerality of the paper support, diminishing its authority as hard cash. Furthermore, despite best efforts, watermarks, like so many features of the assignat making process, were forgeable, as paper used for illicit manufacture in Northumberland and Kent suggests.[134]

In addition to the watermark, the *timbre sec* and *timbre identique* both subverted or altered the physical integrity of the surface of the paper rather than printing on it. These embossed inkless stamps were the primary site of artistic contribution to the assignat, for as in so many other areas of revolutionary print culture, artists adapted their pre-Revolution speciality to the new political climate, and throughout the Revolution artists such as Droz, Tardieu and Gatteaux, famous for their medal designs, produced stamps for assignats, imprinting the absent coin on the new paper

[131] Today, these objects, as well as much other material relating to the production of assignats, are kept in the Archives of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. Camus's role as archivist ensured that a large quantity of technical material relating to the assignat was conserved.

[132] J.Derrida, 'Paper or myself, you know... (new speculations on a luxury of the poor)', *Paragraph*, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1998, p. 2.

[133] Watermarks existed in two forms, *clair* or *en opaque*, according to whether the design was rendered transparent against an opaque background, or vice versa. The processes of watermarking changed very little under the Revolution, and they were largely made for assignats by two *filigranistes*, Bouvier and Tugot. See: R.Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1995.

currency. The inscribing of the paper with a reminder of the material appearance of scarce *numéraire* appears to perform two contradictory functions. On the one hand it lends the assignat some of the coin's aura, using the coin as a sign with which to authenticate the note. However, this phantom coin, anxious to indicate the transformed value of the paper it marks, actually weakens the autonomy of the paper note. We are constantly reminded of the frail materiality of the assignat by the representation of 'hard' metal coinage on its surface. The *timbre sec* performs a play at three-dimensionality which the assignat fails to reciprocate.

The artist-produced copper engraving or *timbre sec*, whilst perhaps the most volatile signifier of authenticity, was nonetheless an important component in the struggle against counterfeiting, especially following its incorporation into a two-cylinder machine which allowed whole uncut sheets of assignats to be printed at once. However, it was not the final means by which individual authorship could be impressed on the assignat during its manufacture. For a note to be considered genuine it had to be signed by one or more people. Until 31st August 1792 these signatures, applied to all notes of more than twenty-five livres in value, were manuscript. The identity of the signatory was subordinate to the aesthetic qualities of the signature, and the laborious job was frequently assigned to lowly civil servants, especially those who were acknowledged to have beautiful handwriting.[135] After this date signatures on assignats of all values were printed, which in addition to the development of a system for mechanising the numbering of notes, further devolved human intervention on the assignat to a mechanically rendered sign, contributing to the increasing value of the signature to the fetish-character of a commodity.

The manufacture of the paper used to make assignats took place, like all other areas of their fabrication, behind closed doors. By decrees of 15th October and 4th November 1790, paper production was limited to mills at Essonnes, Courtalin, Marais and Buges; and briefly at Langlée, near Montargis, and Fayat near

[134] P.Bower, op. cit., p. 50. See also: J.Philipson and P.Isaac, 'A case of economic warfare in the 18th century: three early paper-moulds in the collection of the Society: Sir John Swinburne and the forged assignats from Haughton Mill', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 18, 1990, pp. 151-163.
[135] See: M.Muszynski, op. cit., pp. 23-37 for reproductions of all the signatures (manuscript and printed) to be found on the assignat.

Annonnay.[136] Paper was transported to Paris under armed guard, for by this stage it was already watermarked and would have represented a coup for a prospective counterfeiter. The demand for assignats was so great that paper was often transported and printed before it had time to dry sufficiently, a situation which was no doubt behind one anonymous request that assignats be printed on card.[137] The author of this pamphlet even suggests that the card made by one Mme Veuve Delagarde, an associate of the famous wallpaper manufacturer Reveillon, would be especially appropriate for the task.[138]

The anxiety of this citizen of the Beaubourg section about the material facture of the national currency, his desire that it should be 'de toute nécessité, un représentatif de l'argent, qui résiste au frottement de la mutation,'[139] expresses a fear shared by many revolutionary ideologues and commentators, who believed that the material frailty of the assignat, its liability to disintegrate, could induce a corresponding economic and political collapse. Passing repeatedly from hand to hand, paper notes were for this author, in their present state 'trop frêles.'[140] A similar unease, coupled with hopes of commercial success, motivated proposals to make assignats from squares of embroidered silk (Ill. 1.51), and was behind the Buges paper factory's defence of the dimensions and weight of their assignat paper, which was in any case fixed by law.[141]

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[136] J.Lafaurie, op. cit., p. 23. See also the dispute over the commission for the manufacture of assignats led by Anisson Duperron, director of the Imprimerie Royale, later Nationale, who lost the contract to print assignats to the Didot workshops. Accused of prevarication by Montesquiou, Anisson Duperron claimed that he didn't realise the scale of the commission, that early assignats were double-sided, complicating the task, that the Imprimerie Royale could print more notes per sheet than the Didot, and that it was moreover the correct place for such an important document to be produced. *Lettre du Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale, à M. le Président de l'Assemblée Nationale, en réponse au Rapport de Montesquiou, du 29 octobre, sur l'impression des Assignats*, Paris, 1790. Anisson Duperron further clarified his superior position in a pamphlet authored with the support of the proprietor of the Buges *papeterie*, stating that 'toute Imprimerie qui a des *temps perdus* ne doit pas subsister.' E.Anisson-Duperon, *Observations du Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale, sur la fabrication du papier des Assignats, & sur leur impression*, Paris, 1790, p. 2.

[137] *Messieurs...Presénté à l'assemblée électorale, le 15 février 1791*, Paris, 1791.

[138] In 1790, the Courtalin-based Reveillon, despite his inflammation of a notable pre-revolutionary riot, was amongst those given the commission to make paper for assignats. See: *Lettre du Directeur d'Imprimerie Royale, à MM. du Comité des Finances de l'Assemblée Nationale, sur l'impression des Assignats nouvellement décrétés*, Paris, 1790, p. 1.

[139] *Messieurs...*, op. cit., p. 2.

[140] *Messieurs...*, ibid., p. 1.

[141] Defending themselves against accusations of having produced defective assignats, the Buges paper factory issued a pamphlet in August 1790, arguing that their use of thin paper was much better 'pour arriver à leur dernière perfection,' and that in fact, engravers had diminished the quality of the paper by soaking it for impression. *Mémoire pour la papeterie de Buges*, Paris, 1790, pp. 4-5.

Although clearly suspicious of paper's transient qualities, the author does appear willing to compromise, Mme Delagarde's cardboard providing a suitable alternative. Apparently the card 'est fort, assez souple, de plus se noircit au feu plutôt que de brûler, & j'en ai vu la preuve.'[142] In comparison to paper's fragility, the increased solidity of the cardboard imparts an enchanted, supernatural status, evidenced by its magical resistance to fire, which approaches the signifying power of metal coinage.[143] As one counter-revolutionary print featuring a coin descending from the clouds above an awed and appreciative audience suggests, the metaphorical weight of metal currency was enhanced by its scarcity, the unique durability of the coined royal profile rendering it sacred (Ill. 1.52). Clearly, in this context, the return of metal coinage is imagined as equivalent to the revival of absolute monarchy. Like a witness to a religious experience the Beaubourg author claims to have seen the failed burning of the new assignat with his own eyes, close observation of the material note again playing an important role in its profession of truth. The involvement of an associate of Reveillon implies that not only were assignats considered a viable opportunity for commercial profit, but that they were materially, as well as intellectually, 'open'; susceptible to ongoing dialogue, experimentation and clarification.

Faith in the assignat, a belief system based upon verisimilitude, was in every sense a consequence of the technology used for its production. According to the anthropologist Alfred Gell, this interdependency is a characteristic of all objects that we call 'art'. Gell suggests that:

> As a technical system, art is orientated towards the production of social consequences which ensue from the production of these objects. The power of art stems from the technical processes they objectively embody: the technology of enchantment is founded on the enchantment of technology.[144]

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[142] *Messieurs...*, op. cit., p. 2.

[143] As Alfred Gell has pointed out: 'Just as money is the ideal means of exchange, magic is the ideal means of technical production.' A.Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology' in: A.Gell, *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, London and New Brunswick, NJ, 1999, p. 181.

[144] A.Gell, ibid., p. 163. Albert Soboul has remarked that 'as it [the Revolution] was above all sensitive to the problems of technology and production, it had no conception of work as a social function.' In contrast, I do not seek to isolate assignat production from a social awareness of the workplace, to which, I argue, it was intrinsically linked. A.Soboul, 'Problems of Work in Year II' in: J.Kaplow, *New Perspectives on the French Revolution: Readings in Historical Sociology*, New York and London, 1965, p. 211. See: V.Mainz ed., *L'Image du travail et la Révolution française*,

I am of course wary of including assignats within that body of made objects institutionally valorised as art, yet Gell's analysis of the (art) object as engaged in a reciprocal relationship with diverse areas of sociability and fabrication appears especially relevant here, for the technical procedures which comprised the physical body of the assignat are inseparable from the tense opposition between legal and counterfeit production, and their various political or social motivations. Furthermore, the technologies of assignat production were intended to 'enchant' both legitimate and illegal users via a combination of paper, watermark, stamp and type – either convincing them that notes were of an equal value to metal coinage, or tricking them into mistakes in the process of counterfeiting.

Making and faking 3: Targinette

In his plea that 'il est urgent de rétablir la circulation, dont la langueur est une maladie grave pour tout le corps politique'[145] Anne-Pierre Montesquiou was not alone in locating assignat use at the centre of discourses surrounding the health of the nation. As one image (Ill. 1.53), produced by Webert, the counter-revolutionary publisher responsible for the characterisation of Camus as 'l'homme aux assignats', demonstrates, this was a language shared by those opposed to the Revolution, and specifically attributable to the diseased female body. At the centre of this confusing image, a woman representing the Constitution is expiring, appropriately enough from consumption, on a bed of assignats. The journalist Linotte, writing in the counter-revolutionary newspaper *Journal de la cour et de la ville*, imagined her as already dead, reduced to constructing her funeral shroud from 'morceaux de papiers coloriés effigiés et marqués d'un timbre sec.'[146]

As Target, in satirical rhetoric the 'father' of this figure, stands at the bedhead, dabbing his eyes and mourning his daughter's imminent demise, Camus, taking her pulse – monitoring, in other words, her *circulation* – desperately administers restorative 'bouillons de clergé', made from the concentrated blood of the priest which the Abbé Fauchet is busy despatching to the left hand side of the image. The

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exh. cat., Vizille, 1999, for an account of work as a culturally determined social function during the French Revolution.

[145] M.Montesquiou, *Opinion ... sur les petits assignats de cinq livres*, Paris, 1791, p. 5.

[146] Linotte, *Journal de la cour et de la ville*, 15th February 1792, quoted in C.Langlois, *La Caricature...*, op. cit., p. 97.

erasure of Camus's nose rearticulates the satirical punning on his name, and implies that he suffers from a lack of 'sense'.[147] In the foreground, Bailly, a former astronomer, examines with a telescope a chamber pot filled with constitutional decrees, and erroneously suggests to his wife that hope may yet be discovered within, whilst she, confirming the scopic anxiety surrounding the assignat, worries about where he's left his glasses.

TB, or consumption, as Susan Sontag observes, 'makes the body transparent.'[148] Like the assignats on which the Constitution lies, this body is subjected to a medicalised scrutiny which parodies the Republican obsession with Rousseauian political transparency, a feature which, as we have seen, was materialised nowhere more explicitly than in the assignat. Once again, we see how counter-revolutionary caricature took many of its best ideas from revolutionary counterparts, for the image of a dying aristocratic body, attended to by members of the nobility, had already been widely circulated (Ill. 1.54). Many earlier, related royalist prints featured in contrast Target giving birth to the Constitution, imagined as his daughter 'Targinette' (Ill. 1.55). This device serves to emasculate Target, as well as foregrounding the metaphorical implications of reproduction.[149] As a result, this print of Targinette on her deathbed conflates two corporeal allusions, reproduction and consumption, both of which refer, directly, to the assignats which support this ailing figure, fed by the destruction of the clergy. Furthermore, the arrangement of the figure groups around this image, the way in which the narrative implies a repetition of action and exchange, reminds us of the various uses of 'circulation' as a term of significance for both individual and national bodies.

In a taxonomy distinct from that of officially produced assignats, and the counterfeits which brought pressure to bear on the peculiar status of money as a mass-reproducible form susceptible to the pressures of the 'original', between 1793

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[147] See: *Vous n'avez pas de nez, Camus*, Paris, n.d.

[148] S.Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, New York, 1977, p. 11.

[149] As Champfleury observed, the Duc d'Aiguillon was usually cast in the role of midwife in such images. Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature sous la République, l'Empire et la Restauration*, Paris, 1874, p. 98 and p. 101. According to Lynn Hunt, this and similar images 'can be taken as almost inadvertant representations of the unconscious supposition that men will give birth to the new order themselves under the new regime of fraternity.' L.Hunt, op. cit., pp. 99-100. On this image see also: V.Cameron, 'Poltical Exposures: Sexuality and Caricature in the French Revolution' in: L.Hunt ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, pp. 90-107 and J.Landes, *Visualizing the Nation:*

and 1796 the assignat was appropriated as an overt symbol of political and military conflict. The wars of the Vendée pitted the Republican army against the British and émigré-supported royalist forces massed in the south of the province, and witnessed many of the Revolution's bloodiest atrocities on both sides. Demonstrating the symbolic importance of the assignat as a sign of revolutionary affiliation, by this point brought to a head by the supplantation of royal for Republican iconography on the notes, the Catholic and Royalist Armies issued their own assignats, to be circulated amongst the troops and sympathetic parties (Ill. 1.56).

These notes fulfilled several functions. Most obviously, they destabilised the authority of official assignats by increasing the amount of illicit notes in circulation. Thus, on the 15 brumaire year II (5th November 1793), the Convention could decree that distributors of these royalist assignats should be subject to the same penalties as producers of counterfeits.[150] When a town was captured by the counter-revolutionary armies, its bank, and the supply of assignats it contained, were destroyed and replaced with their royalist equivalents. This act of resistance was enhanced by the fact that the value of the notes was based upon that of Republican assignats themselves, reclaiming, in an indirect way, the symbolic value of the land taken by the Revolution. The assignat, representative of revolutionary regeneration and popular patriotism, was here recruited to support the political interests of the nobility. Following a similar format to pre-republican assignats, often featuring, as here, the Dauphin's head in a central position, these images transgress the ideological prescription of revolutionary assignats by establishing a parallel, parasitic circulation within the national economy.

In a similar vein, the paper notes issued for circulation in the besieged cities of Lyon and Mayence (Ill. 1.57) likewise internalised and restricted circulation, whilst also evoking the assignat's increasing suitability as a medium for the expression of political conflict. Anxiety over the exchange of these imitative notes was paralleled by institutional concern about the safe circulation of legitimate assignats in the post. Lavigne, deputy of the department of Lot and Garonne, railed against the possible dangers involved in this form of circulation, amongst which he included the murder

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Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France, Ithaca and London, 2001, pp. 63-65.

of couriers, the theft of assignats, also by couriers, the distribution of counterfeits, people who claimed to be sending money but did not, blaming the post, and those who claimed not to have received them when they had, with the same justification.[151] Contrary to these duplicitous acts Lavigne suggested the introduction of a system proposed by Finiquel, whereby citizens were to present their assignats of five livres or above for verification the day before their despatch. The notes would then be stamped and sealed within a special envelope, which would receive further stamps at each town through which it passed. On arrival the recipient would receive, with the money, a pro-forma filled in with manuscript details of the notes and signed by both the sender and verificator, which would act as a guarantee of transmission.[152] This control of circulation mirrors the increasing surveillance of individual movement at this time, represented in printed form by the passport, whose stamps, signatures and descriptions likewise accumulated at every town or checkpoint through which a bearer passed.[153] These restrictions demonstrate the ambivalence with which revolutionaries approached the circulation of images and bodies. Ironically, it was through a desire to prevent the deceptive practices of theft or counterfeiting obstructing legitimate circulation, that these potentially repressive practices, which effectively hindered circulation, were instituted.

In this context, little wonder that the threat posed by counterfeiting found potent expression in a metaphor of contagion which counteracted the 'purity' required of official notes, and which returns us to Élodie's fear of receiving 'bad money', and of 'passing it on'. Deperey found ready support for his characterisation of false assignats as 'infectious'.[154] Unsurprising perhaps, for, as the deputy Lanthena observed: 'dans l'organisation d'une véritable République, tous est lié, chaque partie a des rapports avec les autres, comme dans l'organisation admirable des corps

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[150] A.Rouillé, *Assignats et Papiers-Monnaie. Guerres de Vendée et Chouannerie, 1793-1796*, La Roche-sur-Yon, 1891, p. 19.

[151] J.Lavigne, *Rapport et projet de décret sur la circulation des assignats par la poste, fait et présenté a l'Assemblée Nationale, au nom de son comité des assignats et monnoies, le 29 mars 1792, l'an quatrième de la liberté*, Paris, 1792, p. 3.

[152] J.Lavigne, ibid., p. 15.

[153] See my chapter three.

[154] G.Deperey, *Tableau...*, op. cit., p. 1. See also: A.N. F^7 3578. This Swiss document certified that 'par la grace du Dieu tant dans nôtre ville qu'aux environs l'air est sain & exempt de tout Mal contagieux, ainsi nous prions tous ceux qui font à prier, de laisser librement passer & repasser...' Here followed the names of two travellers, François Joseph Schwab and Eduard Dumontier.

animés.'[155] 'Fermez les digues; rendez-les assez fortes' proclaimed Saurine.[156] Expose the counterfeiting brigands who 'infestent' the public roads demanded Duvaucelles.[157] Marx's use of biological analogy, his characterisation of the exchange of commodities as a process of metabolism,[158] resonates here, and with contemporary indictments of speculation as damaging to the health of the nation. Speculation, described by Saint-Aubin as a 'phantome', was another massive and insidious impediment to the success of the assignat.[159] Not politically motivated in any direct way, it nonetheless undermined the state by applying the ruthless logic of profit capitalism to a money form which could not withstand the lure of hard cash. Many became fat on the proceeds, whilst elsewhere the assignat appeared to assist bourgeois interests by allowing the payment of both workers and taxes in devalued paper, which both the state and workers were bound to accept. However, speculation did not physically threaten the materiality of the assignat, other than encouraging a direct substitution for metal currency. When faced with counterfeit production however, it is the *body* of the assignat, to borrow Mary Douglas's definition of the body, as 'any bounded system' and 'structure of ideas', that is under attack.[160] As Lynn Hunt points out, during the Revolution:

> All bodies had to be examined closely because all bodies now made up the body politic; every body literally embodied a piece of sovereignty, or at least some connection to it. As a consequence, the whole subject of appearance was valorised in new and particularly significant ways.[161]

Assignats were subjected to the same restrictions which applied to the movements of contagious individuals.

[155] F.Lanthena, *Projet pour retirer une grande masse d'assignats, par des moyens qui multiplieront les familles aisées, les travaux, toutes les réproductions, & seront un ciment solide à l'union des citoyens*, Paris, 1795, p. 2.

[156] J.-P.Saurine, *Discours sur les monnoies, prononcé à la séance du vendredi 7 janvier 1791*, Paris, 1791, p. 11.

[157] M.L.Duvaucelles, *Observations sur les moyens de faire circuler les assignats avec célérité et sureté, et sans aucun surcroit de défense*, Paris, 1791, p. 3.

[158] K. Marx, op. cit., p. 198.

[159] Saint-Aubin, *L'Expedition de Don Quichotte contre les moulins a vent*, Paris, 1795, p. 1.

[160] M.Douglas, 'External Boundaries' in: A. Jones ed., *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, London, 2003, p. 373. Edmund Burke, in particular, employed metaphors of bodily sustenance and physiology to predict the downfall of the assignat. Of Necker, he wrote: 'That minister was of opinion, that, whatever their secret nutritive value might be, the state could not live upon *assignats* alone' (p. 237.), whilst the Republic, 'will make efforts, by becoming the heart of a boundless paper circulation, to draw everything to itself' (p. 50.) E.Burke, op. cit.

[161] L.Hunt, 'Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France' in: S.E.Melzer and K.Norberg eds., *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998, p. 232.

The assignat, signifier of the Revolution's intransience, was in the hands of the counterfeiter the very means by which this authority could be critically undermined – only close examination of the paper body could prevent this illness, and the transparent body of the assignat was repeatedly and anxiously looked 'through.'

Transferring authority

> 'yes, the face has a great future, but only if it is destroyed, dismantled'[162]

Of all the symbolic features to appear in connection with the paper money of the Revolution, few generated the political and emotional charge created by the image of the king, whether present on the paper note or conspicuously absent. Yet in this case absence functions not as poignant memento mori, but rather as potent revolutionary symbol – one is *supposed* to notice the lack of a king on the Republican assignat, and the replacement of royal by Republican iconography gains much of its charge from its situation in a space traditionally reserved for the most distinguished bodily fragment, the individual monarchical face.

In one popular print depicting Louis XVI's arrest at Sainte-Menehould following the attempted flight to Varennes in 1791 (Ill. 1.58), an assignat is employed as the central trope by which the narrative humour of the image functions. The king is eating a plate of pigs' feet, a speciality of the region, when he is accosted by Drouet, a member of the National Guard, who at arm's length holds an assignat alongside the king's face as a means of identification. The joke seems to be that the somewhat distended Louis is dissimilar in appearance to the noble countenance depicted in profile on the note, although the print works at many different levels. Of course, it was in fact, as Camille Desmoulins reported, 'the time taken to prepare the pig's feet and his all-too-*similar* face on a banknote [which] were fatal to him.'[163] Similarity, rather than difference, was the primary means of the king's undoing, though as we have seen in the context of the assignat's fabrication, the distinction between the two terms is subject to slippage, and it may be that this meta-narrative of authenticity was suggested by the presence of an assignat in this

[162] G.Deleuze and F.Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi, London, 1988, p. 171.

scenario: Louis was, after all, to stand accused of deceiving his people. Representative of a regime charged with institutional dissimulation, the king has been unmasked, made transparent by the keen gaze of the virtuous revolutionary citizenry.

Furthermore, alongside the degrading sexual undertones of masturbation figured in the phallic pig's foot clasped by the king, the image is, as Rebecca Spang has observed, a scene in which the king is called to account. For whilst the guardsman appears to be presenting Louis with his bill, it in fact bears no sum but his head, the actual price he must pay for his crimes.[164] This ghoulish politico-economic analogy has parallels elsewhere, in the popular print motif of the 'patriotic calculator' (Ill. 1.59). We cannot but help recall Robespierre's alleged characterisation of the guillotine as an 'engine for making money',[165] for apart from the three hundred-plus executions for counterfeiting, the guillotine proved an effective technology for the forced reclamation of aristocratic or enemy property that could subsequently be transformed into assignats. Louis appears oblivious to the events unfolding around him, yet whilst he chomps away on his pigs' feet, his dissimilarity to the ideal, antique-derived portrait on the note, and the events leading to its removal, have already been prophesied.

In this print, the assignat is used in a specific sense. Used to denote a generalised idea of payment, the assignat at the same time transcends its commonplace status as generic money by reference to a particular person, the king whose authority is singularly represented on the assignat. To a large extent the assignat's legitimacy had been based upon its engagement with the dual system of representation located between the body politic and the body of the king. Between 1790 and 1795 the portrait effigy of Louis XVI appeared on twenty-three of the fifty-two assignats

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[163] *Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no. 82, 27th June 1791 quoted in A.de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, op. cit., p. 69. My italics.

[164] R.Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2000, pp. 128-129. The sign hanging above the tavern where the king has been accosted bears the legend 'au fuiard', and a representation of the king's profile.

[165] In: I.F.d'Ivernois, *A cursory view of the Assignats, and remaining resources of French finance (September 6, 1795)*, London, 1795, p. 4. See also Camille Desmoulins's sardonic evocation of a 'guillotine économique', which, alongside a free press, was all that was needed to establish liberty and prevent plots. C.Desmoulins, *Le Vieux Cordelier*, no. 6, décadi 10 nivôse year II (30th December 1793) in: P.Pachet ed., *Le Vieux Cordelier*, Paris, 1987 [1793-1794], p. 62.

issued,[166] often supplemented by miniature representations of the great French kings – Henri IV, Saint Louis – from whom his power proceeded. These assignats *a face royale* featured a profile portrait of the king within a circular frame, which took the form of a copper-engraved print, a *timbre sec* or a watermark, and was generally the part of the note which received the greatest amount of artistic labour. We may read this as a fulfilment of Edmund Burke's prophecy that the assignat would never be able to confront the signifying power of metal coinage on its own terms, and indeed, assignats always struggled to retain the value of metal currency.[167] As we have seen, this guilty memory was quite literally impressed upon the notes, in the form of the *timbre sec*, a ghost of a coin which served only to remind the bearer of the paper note's relative material and economic fragility. In this context, the decline of the coin, whose iconography was a traditional site for the material expression of absolute sovereignty, speaks as an allegory of the demise of royal authority, symbolically rendered paper-thin.

Despite the claim that, in terms of money's function as a commodity, 'the face which the state impresses on money as coin has no value, only its metal content has value',[168] it seems that in this case the ideological significance of the king's head, and not just the coin with which it was traditionally associated, must be read as intrinsic to the performance of the currency, such were the specific political conditions which ensured that its presence or absence affected the ability of the assignat to represent as both money form and sign of political affiliation. Indeed, as a measure of legitimacy the subject matter appears at first to outweigh the medium. The king's body-as-print remained, until the foundation of the Republic, and the corresponding removal of the king's head in both reality and representation, the most explicit signifier of authenticity available to the assignat.

Indeed, one king was not always enough, as the one hundred livres assignat of 19th June 1791 (Ill. 1.60) confirms. This sparse rectangular note is dominated by a portrait of Louis XVI, and apart from a reference to the National Assembly, contains little obvious indication that it is in any sense 'revolutionary'. The borders

[166] M.Muszynski, op. cit., p. 43.
[167] E.Burke, *Discours de M.Burke sur la monnoie de papier, et sur le systême des assignats de France*, Paris, 1790, p. 17.
[168] K.Marx, *Grundrisse: Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. by Martin Nicolaus, London, 1973, p. 228.

of the printed values contain fleurs-de-lys, the king's monogram of two interlaced 'L's, and the proclamation 'la loi et le roi' (omitting, significantly, 'la nation'). The frame of the assignat, again characterised by an attenuated fleurs-de-lys design, contains further minuscule portraits. Nevertheless, the crowns on their heads indicate their status. Included are St. Louis, Louis XI, Henri IV and Louis XVI again, all accompanied by their identifying monographs or royal arms. Thus the king is located in a chain of authority which establishes himself as the culmination (or latest instalment) of a natural order. Issued the day before the fateful flight to Varennes, the determined, secure character of royal authority was never again expressed with such conclusivity.

Indeed, as the Revolution progressed, the assignat became an increasingly confused site for the mediation of revolutionary or Ancien Régime identity. A twenty-five sols note from 1792 (Ill. 1.6) demonstrates this conflation of symbols at a crucial point of departure. Topped by a radiating eye of surveillance from which unfurls a scrolled anti-counterfeiting warning, this assignat features two circular blanks printed to accommodate stamps. The imprint on the right hand side features a representation of a beehive, inscribed 'Republique Française, 21 Septembre 1792' – the date of the proclamation of the Republic. Between the two spaces a gallic cockerel, symbolising vigilance, raises a banner marked 'la Liberté ou la mort': in every sense this note appears to bear testimony to the allegorical schema of the Republic – assignats were nothing if not pedagogical. However, a closer look reveals inconsistencies. Each corner of the minimally patterned border features a royalist fleur-de-lys (Ill. 1.61), whilst the stamp on the left-hand side retains the royal imprint. Although the issue of this note was announced by a law of the 4th January 1792, it was in fact released on 21st September, and was not able fully to accommodate the momentous changes which the day had brought about. Quite literally stuck between two no longer compatible regimes, this compound, dialogic iconography represents a moment of crisis before the reimposition of order, a battle for control of the image fought on the surface of the national currency.

This was a contest which the king was losing fast even before the declaration of the Republic in 1792. Mona Ozouf, describing the participation of aristocrats in the 1790 festival of Federation, poignantly remarks that they were present only

'en filigrane,' blanched out as a watermark amid the hectic declarations of loyalty and occasional threats of popular violence (Tremblez tyrans! Voici les garçons bouchers![169]) which characterised the day itself, and the spontaneous construction of the Champ de Mars.[170] Initially such a dominant presence on the assignat, the king was removed by degrees. A series of apparently similar notes charts this process. Engraved by Gatteaux, the fifteen sols notes of 4th January 1792, 24th October 1792 and 23rd May 1793 (Ill. 1.62) demonstrate the possibility of articulating heterogeneous and conflicting meanings within the same frame. Although the king's image was never printed on any of these assignats in ink, his authority was present nonetheless. The first note bears a *timbre sec* representing the king on the right-hand side. Meanwhile, its border features a prominent fleurs-de-lys and the proclamation 'la nation, la loi, le roi'. The date is given as the fourth year of Liberty. By the time the second note was issued, the political calendar had shifted once more, and the date is given as the first year of the Republic, although the royal inscription and the fleurs-de-lys remain – an obstinate reminder of the regime being replaced. The third note, marked 'l'an 2me de la République', is dedicated to 'La République française, une et indivisible'. All royal references, including the incriminating *timbre sec*, have been purged from the note, although its basic structure and appearance remain unchanged. The decision not to place the king's profile in a prominent printed position on the note in the first place demonstrates how the transience of paper money could be used to its own advantage. The *timbre sec* and watermark may not have had the signifying weight of metal coinage; however, they furnished the assignat with an unprecedented, and specifically revolutionary, political agency. By purposefully reducing royal involvement on the surface of the assignat to a diaphanous after-image, royal participation in the national body could be shown to be as ephemeral as the technological guarantee of the assignat.

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[169] Slogans on banners carried by the butchers of Paris during the construction of the Champ de Mars.

[170] M.Ozouf, contribution to *Discussion* in: J.Ehrard and P.Viallaneix eds., *Les Fêtes et la Révolution: Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (juin 1974)*, Paris, 1977, p. 580. However, Ozouf acknowledges the degree to which the ambiguous position of the aristocrat somewhere between presence and absence nonetheless articulated a considerable symbolic importance: 'sa présence en filigrane est indispensable au sentiment de la fête, en ce sens que le sentiment même de l'unité et de la transparence n'est jamais aussi vif que lorsqu'il vainc un mystérieux obstacle.'

CHAPTER TWO

Re(-)presenting the festivals of the French Revolution

In an anonymous image titled *Le serment de l'Indivisibilité de la République au pied de l'arbre de la liberté, le 12 août 1792* (Ill. 2.1), the foreground subject of the title is overwhelmed by the scale and immediacy of the background. The base of the image is taken up by the eponymous oath, whose representation, in conjunction with the outdoor setting, establishes that this is an image of one of the many events which fall within the loose designation 'revolutionary festival', albeit a fairly small and idealised one.[1] Held two days after the storming of the Tuileries Palace, this non-specific provincial festival ante-dated by a year the grandiose Parisian festival of Republican Reunion of 10th August 1793, which commemorated the legislative changes brought about by the king's deposition. Appearances are deceptive though, for the widespread landscaping of major Parisian ceremonials with trees and foliage denied their urban milieu, whilst in the frame of the image it is unclear whether we are witnessing a rural or metropolitan scene, such is the concentration on ritual aspects common to both. Furthermore, it may be that the image was refracted through the lens of the commemoration in 1793, and that it aimed retrospectively to validate the larger festival by reference to an imagined past. Whether a 'wish-fulfilling image'[2] in the Benjaminian mode or

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Parts of this chapter have been published as: 'The 1790 Paris Federation and the visual (re)constitution of an idea', *Object*, no. 4, 2001-2002, pp. 73-92.

[1] The festivals discussed in this chapter are, except where stated, those which were considered such by their organisers. I have not attempted to analyse the many instances and representations of potentially 'festive' behaviour which occurred elsewhere. For an argument in favour of the assimilation of festivals and related events such as riots see: R.Caillois, 'Festival' in: D.Hollier ed., *The College of Sociology, 1937-39*, trans. by Betsy Wing, Minneapolis, 1988, pp. 279-303.

[2] The full quote from Benjamin reads: 'Corresponding in the collective consciousness to the forms of the new means of production, which at first were still dominated by the old (Marx), are images in which the new is intermingled with the old. These images are wishful fantasies, and in them the collective seeks both to preserve and to transfigure the inchoateness of the social product and the deficiencies in the social system of production. In addition these wish-fulfilling images manifest an emphatic striving for disassociation with the outmoded – which means, however, with the most recent past. These tendencies direct the visual imagination, which has been activated by the new, back to the primeval past. In the dream in which, before the eyes of each epoch, that which is to follow appears in images, the latter appears wedded to certain elements from prehistory, that is, of a classless society. Intimations of this, deposited in the unconscious of the collective, mingle with the new to produce the utopia that has left its traces in thousands of configurations of life, from permanent buildings to fleeting fashions.' The utopian, aspirational and idealising aspects of representations of revolutionary festivals, plus their distinctly modern appropriation of antique or pastoral imagery, what Mona Ozouf calls 'archaism against anguish', appear amenable to Benjamin's analysis of imagery's constitutive role. W.Benjamin, 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' in: N.Leach ed., *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, London and New

a banal statement of dogma, there is more going on here than initially meets the eye.

In this watercolour, which may have been produced as preparation for a print, small figures dance a *carmagnole* around the bottom of an attenuated liberty tree, whose higher reaches are adorned with a *bonnet rouge*, around which swirl a semi-circle of migrating geese, an allusion to the fraternal context of the oath, taking place to the left-hand side of the tree.[3] A placard hung half-way up the tree bears the legend 'Nous jurons l'Indivisibilité de la République français,' whilst the stump of another, evidently once much sturdier tree, garlanded around its amputated surface, makes a convenient natural altar for the swearing of the oath, lead by a single jubilant figure, and accompanied by a hat-waving crowd of all ages and sexes. The entire revolutionary family: men, women and children, are present, celebrating their solidarity and the permanence of the Republic under an open sky.[4] In this festival scenario the only direct clues to the radical context of the image's production are given by the presence of several *sans-culottes*, their political allegiance clearly denoted by their idiosyncratic clothing, and an armed soldier, standing guard over proceedings in a sentry-hut, separated from the oath, to the left-hand side of the image, who, in a chain of relatively benign surveillance is in turn observed by another armed figure high-up in the undergrowth. That is, at least, until we take in the landscape which forms the background to the image, and which so thoroughly dominates the picture frame.

Indeed, it is far more likely that this is the first aspect of the image which the viewer encounters, such is its massive, intimidating miniaturisation of the scene in the foreground. Even more certain is that it sees us first. Rising up behind the celebrations at the foot of the image is the improbable, triangulated form of a

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York, 1996, p. 35. M.Ozouf, *La fête sous la Révolution française* in: J.LeGoff and P.Nora eds., *Faire de l'histoire: nouveaux objets*, Paris, 1974, p. 257.

[3] On the symbolic role of trees in festivals see: A.Corvol, 'The Transformation of a Political Symbol: Tree Festivals in France from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries', *French History*, vol. 4, no. 4, December 1990, pp. 455-486.

[4] That a festival be unconstrained by any limit on its verticality was a consistent feature of festival planning throughout the revolutionary decade. This derived from a pastoral tradition mediated via Rousseau's observations about an ideal, natural festival. This in turn harmonised with revolutionary desires for a removal of all 'artificial' barriers to transparency or visibility, and the evocation of an unhindered natural communion with a higher authority. Where festivals took place indoors, such as the festival of Reason held in Notre Dame on 10th November 1793, an appropriately grand setting was required.

mountain, a winding, spiral path concluding at its summit with a colonnaded temple. Roughly two-thirds of the way up this peculiar precipice, whose shrubbery and intermittent buildings entertain the pretence that it is naturally-occurring, in the centre, and surrounded by an emanating light, is a fixed, staring, and undeniably fleshy eye.

The eye undoes the image. At once overseeing the action developing below within the image and directly returning the spectatorial gaze which intrudes from outside, the eye problematises relations between viewer and object, complicating the conventionally unilateral conditions of artistic spectatorship and, by way of its incongruous trompe-l'oeil, the two-dimensionality of the pictorial surface. The eye also ascribes to the rest of the picture surface a corporeality which it would not, without it, possess. At the same time it offers something in the way of an explanation for the political context of the image's production, and an expansion on the central problematic at the heart of all festival, and perhaps all revolutionary, representation: the disjuncture between that which is represented and that which is intended for representation.

The festival, as we see it in this image, aims to articulate the solidity of the Revolution as naturally ordained, and the beneficence of an observant power, part Supreme Being, part state, whose authority is similarly rooted in the inevitable and unsurpassed virtue of nature. The oath pays homage to the 'unity' and 'indivisibility' of the Republic. Strange then, that the overriding sense upon seeing this image should be of a divisive artifice. The eye may be explicitly unreal, but its incorporation *into* the potentially real mountain, rather than its superimposition *on* the image, suggests that its surroundings may be equally feigned. Suddenly the crowd appears idealised, the landscape picturesque, and the mountain, whose appearance is deceptive, announces itself as more canvas and plaster than rock and soil.

From a modern perspective, revolutionary festivals are only knowable through their representations. Indeed, shortly after or even coincident with the event, but separated by geography, ability to attend or an obscured view, the situation was much the same, accounting in part for the abundant textual plans and descriptions

circulated before, during and after most festivals. Festivals were, throughout the Revolution, amongst the most consistently employed means of visual propaganda, and as such it was essential that they were seen in some form by as many people as possible.[5] This applied especially to the large, centralised Parisian festivals, which aimed to provide a model for their provincial counterparts.

In his *Histoire de l'art pendant la Révolution*, Jules Renouvier observed how: 'l'art le plus vivant de la Révolution est dans ses fêtes.'[6] Alive, yes, but *in* its festivals? For whilst the art of revolutionary festivals has a life, its death is also anticipated, brought about by the end of the festival within which it is contained. The revolutionary festival was, like its pre-revolutionary precedents, a cyclical process, although this circularity remained for the most part within the confines of individual festivals, and did not, despite the aspirations of successive legislatures, replace the annual repetition typified by the religious calendar until Robespierre's attempt to formalise a festival calendar in his speech of 18 floréal year II (7th May 1794).[7] The destruction, or repainting and recycling of the effects of the festival was preordained, for its props and installations were created as temporary. However, as with Renouvier's posthumously published work, there is the possibility of life after death, of a material reconstitution in which the transient is re-created and perpetuated as monument through reproductive media, a simulated reality more enduring than the objects and events which constituted the festivals themselves.

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The festivals of the French Revolution have, in the last thirty years, experienced something of a rehabilitation. Despite a continual residence in canonical histories of the Revolution produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, revolutionary festivals suffered as a consequence of dominant political models of historical explanation which cast them as inconsequential or embarrassing follies of Jacobin totalitarianism, or, on the other hand, celebrated them as precursors to later

[5] On the various uses and meanings of 'propaganda' during the Revolution see: J.A.Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750-1799*, Toronto, 1965.
[6] J.Renouvier, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Révolution*, Paris, 1863, p. 416.
[7] M.Robespierre, *Rapport fait au nom du comité de Salut public, sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales, séance du 18 floréal, l'an second de la République française, une et indivisible*, Paris, 1794.

political developments.[8] Individual festivals were retrospectively selected in support of ideologies, and all others denigrated as a result, a pattern not dissimilar to revolutionaries' imaginings of their own ritual past. Only the festival of Federation, with many qualifications, survived unblemished – if somewhat ossified – as an exemplar of a more innocent stage of the Revolution, uncorrupted by Terror and the politics of individualism, its commemoration of the fall of the Bastille and its celebration of consensus repeated, from 1880, as a national holiday.[9]

The incorporation of anthropological, sociological and structuralist approaches into historical writing in the 1960s encouraged a re-evaluation of the role of the revolutionary festival. Revisionist attacks on early twentieth-century Marxist orthodoxy in French scholarship sought to replace class with culture as a governing interpretative tool, refusing teleological readings of the revolutionary process, accentuating an intellectualised, linguistic sphere of political activity and privileging cultural manifestations (successful or not) over the 'cause and effect' mentality of an exclusively political approach. The work of François Furet, Lynn Hunt, Mona Ozouf and Michel Vovelle was central to this new tactic, and revolutionary festivals became a celebrated, almost ubiquitous, case study within revisionist histories.[10] Ozouf's groundbreaking 1975 study *La fête révolutionnaire* adapted (via Albert Mathiez) a theoretical model developed by the sociologist Emile Durkheim to suggest that despite apparent differences in method, revolutionary festivals were in fact united in expressing a fundamental societal need for the religious, even when framed in a secular context.[11] Ozouf's work has since remained largely uncontested as the last word on revolutionary festivals. Unfortunately, her attempt to open up the field appears to have been interpreted as

[8] In particular the organised festivals associated with the events of 1905 and 1917 in Russia, and the spectacular conceits of May 1968 in Paris. For a detailed account of the historiographical reputation of the revolutionary festival see: M.Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. by Alan Sheridan, Cambridge, MA, 1988, pp. 13-32.

[9] On the debate in 1880 over the correct date on which to remember the Revolution, 14th July 1789, 4th August 1789 or 10th August 1792, see: M.Ozouf, 'Le Premier 14 juillet de la République', *L'Histoire*, no. 25, (July-August 1980), pp. 10-19.

[10] For a comprehensive and critical evaluation of this paradigm shift in revolutionary historiography see: R.Spang, 'Paradigms and Paranoia: How Modern is the French Revolution?', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 108, issue 1, 2003, pp. 119-147. For an impassioned recent critique of the orthodoxy encouraged by 'Furetian' liberalism see: P.Anderson, 'Dégringolade/Union sucrée', *London Review of Books*, vol. 26, no. 17 (2nd September 2004) and vol. 26, no. 18 (23rd September 2004).

[11] M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit.

conclusive and few subsequent analyses have added to or challenged her original verdicts.[12]

I do not wish to refute Ozouf's central arguments, which I find for the most part very convincing. Rather, I hope to contribute to the wider study of revolutionary festivals by approaching them from an angle which Ozouf and others unwittingly marginalise: their representation, especially in printed imagery. This is of course assimilable within Ozouf's account as an extension or effect of the faith structures developed by the festival itself – in other words, it could be convincingly put that these images are, as representations of the festivals, similarly involved in the production of a revolutionary system of belief, as unmediated descriptions of the event. There are two obvious flaws to this argument, if it is considered as final. Firstly, as *Le serment de l'Indivisibilité de la République au pied de l'arbre de la liberté, le 12 août 1792* amply demonstrates, representations of festivals are not the real thing. They are, in common with all visual production, interpretative mediations of a scene or objects, directed by an author, and are therefore subjective, dependent on ideology, circumstance or artistic intent. Secondly, prints of festivals were produced in a market governed by consumers, and by the production of images for profit, whereas the majority of revolutionary festivals, at least the ones which were represented in print, involved some form of legislative input in terms of subsidy and control.[13] Because of this last difference image-makers were accorded a deal of freedom in their interpretation of revolutionary events which puts them at

[12] Although several books investigating revolutionary festivals appeared in the late seventies, a specialised literature on the subject appears to have been more or less terminated with the publication in 1977 of the proceedings of an extensive and wide-ranging international conference on revolutionary festivals, held at Clermont-Ferrand in 1974. Since this date, revolutionary festivals have however profitably figured as illustrative material to diverse narratives, particularly in relation to female agency in festivals. J.Ehrard and P.Viallaneix eds., *Les Fêtes de la Révolution, Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (juin 1974)*, Paris, 1977. See also: Y.-M.Bercé, *Fête et Révolte: Des mentalités populaires du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1976 and M.-L.Biver, *Fêtes Révolutionnaires à Paris*, Paris, 1979. Recent contributions include: V.P.Cameron, 'Mothers, Virgins, Amazons, and Other Women in the Festivals of the French Revolution' in: *Woman as Image and Image-Maker in Paris during the French Revolution*, PhD thesis, Yale University, 1983, pp. 220-248 and D.Z.Davidson, 'Women at Napoleonic Festivals: Gender and the Public Sphere During the First Empire', *French History*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 299-322.

[13] Notable exceptions to this appear in the festivals organised, mostly for profit, in Paris and Sceaux by Pierre-François Palloy, as well as several festivals which were organised partly by individuals and partly by the state, such as that held at Ris on 8th August 1790 by Anisson-Duperron, director of the Imprimerie Nationale. *Lettre de M.Bailly à M. de Lafayette, transmettant la demande de M.Anisson du Perron, à l'effet d'obtenir douze musiciens de la garde nationale pour une fête patriotique par lui donnée, le 8 août, a Ris*, 2nd August 1790, B.N. Mss., fonds français 11697, fol. 73 and 74.

a distance from festivals themselves and problematises any argument for equivalence between the two.[14]

However, most commentators, Ozouf included, assess the visual aspect of particular revolutionary festivals only where it occurs within the spatio-temporal confines of the festival itself (as simulacra, architecture or choreography).[15] Representations of festivals, which of course feature these elements, are reproduced as documentary proof of these long-vanished ephemeral objects, conflating image and event in the print.[16] This emphasis upon verisimilitude appears to be adopted wholesale from revolutionary print-entrepreneurs' rhetoric about themselves, which generally claimed, for obvious reasons, to present in as truthful form as possible the events which occurred. The following addendum, attached to an 'historical' account of the festival of Federation, printed in 1790, is typical, and extends to claims made for the printed image:

> J'observerai à mes Lecteurs qu'il n'est guère possible qu'ils ayent des détails plus justes. Je n'ai poins quitté le Champ de Mars depuis cinq heures du matin jusqu'à 7 heures du soir, et je me suis porté par-tout. Quand aux détails extérieurs, ils ne sont pas moins certains. Je crois devoir, sur-tout pour mes Lecteurs de provinces, décrire la disposition du Champ de Mars.[17]

In our desire to accumulate a lost picture of the past, we are too often blind to the exaggerations, tricks and subtleties presented to us by the ostensibly topographical or 'documentary' image.[18] The wholesale assimilation of image and content denies

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[14] See: C.Hould, *L'Image de la Révolution Française*, exh. cat., Quebec, 1989, ch1. for detail on the freedoms afforded to revolutionary printmakers.

[15] On the role of imagery in revolutionary festivals see important contributions in: R.A.Etlin, 'Architecture and the Festival of Federation, Paris, 1790', *Architectural History*, vol. 18, (1975), pp. 23-42; V.N.Jouffre ed., *Fêtes et Révolution*, Alençon, 1989; M.Ozouf, 'Le Simulacre et la fête révolutionnaire' in: J.Ehrard and P.Viallaneix eds., *Les Fêtes de la Révolution, Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (juin 1974)*, Paris, 1977, pp. 323-353. Specific attempts to analyse representations of revolutionary festivals are rare, and have tended to concentrate on paintings, and generally in terms of their provenance or biographical and iconographic content. See for instance: P.de la Vaissière, 'La Fédération des français peinte par P.-A.De Machy: Essai d'iconographie de la fête de juillet 1790', *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet*, 28e année, no. 2, 1975, pp. 16-33.

[16] See for instance O.Ramette, *L'Architecture ephemère de la decenne révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, Lille, 1979, which, whilst paying unusual attention to representations of revolutionary festivals, takes them somewhat for granted as literal representations of her real subject, the transient architecture of revolutionary festivals.

[17] *Procès-verbal historique de la journée du 14, avec la description du Champ de Mars; précédé de quelques détails sur la revue de la ville*, Paris, 1790, p. 6.

[18] Of course, this was a failure shared by the contemporary audience for these images. For a discussion of this issue see my review of two recent publications addressing 'documentary' or

the specific autonomy and variety of festival images as agents in their own right, simplifying their complex relation with their subjects and discrediting their role in the construction of the festivals' reputations. Ironically, because of their somewhat bizarre visual appeal, representations of festivals are frequently reproduced in historical literature, although the images themselves are seldom discussed. Quite how images of festivals have retained a dual status as both passive, un-engaged illustration and as symbolic equals to festivals themselves is baffling. Likewise, the schizophrenic disregard of such images as at one and the same time faithful but boring topography and sensationalist propaganda is never resolved.

As an event which requires both movement and inertia at appropriate times to function properly,[19] the relationship between the solid and transient in festival culture is complicated, finding an uneasy sort of resolution in the image, a tension exacerbated by the relative ability of print to represent, even mimic, the sculptural or architectural. Indeed, what images of revolutionary festivals show us, is, I argue, an attempt to negotiate the often contradictory problematics of circulation, ephemerality and commemoration embodied in the festival, themes which are both obscured and highlighted by printed representation. In this chapter I aim to investigate the relationship between images *in* festivals and images *of* festivals. At stake here is the representation of authenticity, and the authenticity of representation itself. In particular I am interested in how festival prints mediate the structures of authority or materiality enforced or challenged by the festival, the ways in which these were dependent upon the tension between free and controlled circulation of people, ideas and images, at both a literal and purely symbolic level, and what these images tell us about the complex role of revolutionary self-representation and spectatorship.

But why festivals? Surely the festival print is simply one form of self-consciously historical topography amongst many produced at this time to relate the events of a

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'historical' print-making: R.Taws, 'Warren Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur, Revolutionary Artists: The Public, The Populace, and Images of the French Revolution* and the exhibition *La Révolution par la gravure: les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française, une entréprise éditoriale d'information et sa diffusion en Europe, 1791-1817*, Vizille, 2002,' *Object*, no. 5, 2003, pp. 96-102.

[19] See: M.Ozouf, 'Les cortèges révolutionnaires', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, no. 5, September-October 1971, pp. 889-916.

particular episode or revolutionary *journée*?[20] What is specific about this, at first sight repetitive or at least merely narrative branch of print culture that deserves isolation, seemingly on the sole grounds of subject matter, from its artistic milieu?

On the one hand the appeal of the festival print as an object of study emerges from this apparently generic quality, its ubiquity as a metonym of revolutionary print culture. That the popularity of these images makes them representative enhances rather than diminishes their significance, for their subjects were the ritual phenomena of an unprecedented and extraordinary Revolution. Furthermore, my invented category 'festival print' unites a wide range of images aimed at diverse markets. It could also include the non-figurative body of maps, journalism and songsheets relating to these events.[21] Figurative prints of festivals, despite their lack of homogeneity, are however largely representative of that sphere of visual culture which can be safely categorised as 'art', albeit art that is often subsumed into the vague arena of the 'popular'. The same cannot be said of my other case studies, although of course they frequently intersect with artistic production. This is an important inclusion, as it demonstrates the relevance of similar issues across parallel areas of visual production. In a similar vein, the festival, and its images, appear as explicitly 'symbolic' practices, as opposed to the apparent functionalism of the other objects under discussion. Whilst this makes for an interesting comparison, it ultimately only heightens, I suggest, the realisation that these images are imbued with a clear and demonstrable use-value, just as other supposedly functional images (assignats, passports and games) have a perceptible symbolic purpose.

My account, by necessity, is partial, and cannot fully incorporate the many festivals organised within and outside of revolutionary legislature between the fall of the Bastille and Napoleon's coup d'État. I have also chosen not to discuss those festivals which took place outside the capital, of which there were many. In the case of, for instance, the festivals of Federation or of Reason, these provincial versions are an essential part of the story, often pre-dating their Parisian

[20] See: P.H.Sands, 'Making History: Illustrating the *Journée* in the Revolution' in: C.Hould and J.Leith eds., *Iconographie et image de la Révolution Française*, Montréal, 1990, pp. 91-109.
[21] On the song culture of the revolutionary festivals see: L.Mason, '*Ça Ira* and the Birth of the Revolutionary Song', *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 28, Autumn 1989, pp. 22-38 and C.Pierre, *Le magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales et du conservatoire*, Paris, 1895.

counterparts.[22] I acknowledge this omission and hope that I am able to suggest their importance, if in relation to the events in Paris.[23] For these reasons I have selected events which I consider to be representative, and those which provoked the greatest quantity of printed imagery. Relatively few intaglio printmakers worked outside of the capital, and whilst civic pride motivated the representation of major provincial festivals, such as the Federations of Lyon or Lille, the sale of these prints was mediated through a Parisian print market which, for the most part, concentrated on Parisian festivals. Some of these are of course the best-known of all the revolutionary festivals, the festivals of Federation, 10th August and the Supreme Being in particular, yet it is here that any analysis must begin, as it is here that the mythic and iconographical structures surrounding the festivals are at their most impermeable, and the extraction of fruitful meaning most intractable.

Fabrication for the nation: The festival of Federation's see-through structures

The first festival of Federation in Paris was, famously, constructed by the people, a fact which did much to cement its inviolable, mythic reputation. Of all the festivals of the French Revolution, this ceremony, held on and around the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, is the most mythologised, the most represented, and, we are led to believe, the least complicated. 'Le prestige de la Fédération, et de tout qu'on entend par elle [...]' remarks Ozouf, 'est d'être l'épisode le moins contesté de la Révolution française.'[24] Indeed, as Maurice Lambert intimated in 1890, 'de toutes les légendes de la Révolution celle de la Fédération est peut-être la plus

[22] For an analysis of the iconography surrounding the festival of Federation in Lille, held on 6th June 1790, which provided an important provincial archetype for the Parisian festival see: O.Lesaffre-Ramette, 'Une fête révolutionnaire provinciale et ses aménagements: la Fédération de Lille, le 6 juin 1790,' *Revue du Nord*, vol. 64, no. 254-255, July-December 1982, pp. 789-802. See also: M.-D.Nivière-de-Vaulchier, *Catalogue des fêtes et des monuments de la Révolution à Grenoble 1788-1799*, Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Lyon 2, 1984, for a useful area-specific account of the role of imagery in provincial festivals throughout the Revolution. See also: P.-H.Thoré, 'Fédérations et projets de fédérations dans la région toulousaine', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 21, 1949, pp. 346-368. For an account of the role and organisation of small provincial festivals see: J.-P.Gutton, 'La fête au village', *Annales de la faculté de lettres et sciences humain*, Nice, vol. 5, 1983, pp. 167-180.

[23] The centrality of Paris was acknowledged by contemporary authors. 'On ne peut dissumuler, que Paris a été le centre de la Révolution; c'est lui qui a rendu la base inébranlable, par les deux plus grandes époques; celle de la prise de la Bastille, & celle de la réunion de toute la France, aux Champs de la Fédération.' P.Berreur, *Projet de monument pour le Champ-de-Mars*, Paris, n.d., pp. 2-3.

[24] M.Ozouf in: F.Furet and M.Ozouf, *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française: Événements*, Paris, 1992, p. 177.

vraie.'[25] Contemporary reports of the events were, apart from anomalies such as Camille Desmoulins's account of the tedium of the procession,[26] the 'ennui organisé' later isolated by Jean Davallon,[27] largely unanimous in their praise, and a language of exaggeration and fabrication embellishes the majority of descriptions, verbal and visual. 'Une fête Nationale se prépare [...] le plus majesteux, comme le plus imposant spectacle qui ait été donné dans l'univers'[28] wrote one author with characteristic hyperbole. Echoes of this type of rhetoric were heard years later in subsequent festivals, in different political contexts.[29] The appeal to posterity, nature, and the universal is repeated many times in the abundant printed pamphlets and descriptions which circulated shortly after the events in Paris. For instance, we read how: 'les races futures s'étonneront qu'un peuple, courbé, pendant près de 18 siècles sous les chaînes du plus honteux esclavage, ait donné à l'univers le spectacle d'une régénération.'[30] The unanimity of historiography, both during and after the Revolution, is striking, and particular to the Federation, which promoted a myth of consensus and the completion of the Revolution, and came to be imagined in mythic terms itself.[31] Myths are representations, and are formed by representations. The many images depicting the fabrication of the Federation by the people of Paris provide, I argue, a clue to this particular fiction, although it may be that their full meaning only becomes apparent in the light of representations which followed, and it is with these that I shall begin, working backwards from artifice to the recognition of that deceit.

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[25] M.Lambert, *Les Fédérations en Franche-Comté et la fête de la Fédération du 14 juillet 1790*, Paris, 1890, pi..

[26] 'It was not by the procession that this festival surpassed those of antiquity, for curiosity soon tires of a procession.' C.Desmoulins, *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no. 35. In: M.Ozouf, *Festivals*..., op. cit., p. 49.

[27] J.Davallon, 'Les Fêtes révolutionnaires: une politique du signe', *Traverses*, vol. 21, no. 22, date unknown, p. 187.

[28] *L'ordre, la marche, et les cérémonies qui s'observeront dans la fête Nationale qui sera célébrée au Champ de Mars*, Paris, 1790, p. 1.

[29] For instance, the final stanza of the speech given on the Champ de Mars, the final station of the festival of the Unity and Indivisibility of the Republic, 10th August 1792, applied this language to the memory of '[...] cette république que l'humanité a chargée de sa cause, & qui doit sauver l'univers.' *Recueil des six discours prononcés par le président de la Convention nationale, le 10 août l'an 2me. de la République, aux six stations de la Fête de l'Unité & de l'Indivisibilité de la République*, Paris, 1793, p. 7.

[30] *Le Pardon Générale, ou célébration du pacte Fédératif*, Paris, 1790, p. 1.

[31] The Federation seems to have been rapidly invoked as a kind of revolutionary ideal or 'conscience' against which other events could be judged. See for instance one appeal for the release of six debtors imprisoned at la Force, which advanced its case by demanding that the freedoms born of the Federation be upheld. *Adresse aux bons citoyens, par un patriote sensible*, Paris, 1790, pp. 1-2.

Jean-Louis Prieur's *Fédération générale faite à Paris le 14 juillet 1790* (Ill. 2.2) inherits from the *vue d'optique* tradition of perspective representations of scenes and events (Ill. 2.3) a concern with the totality of the event depicted.[32] The image, published in the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* (1791-1817), is a high-end example of one of many similar representations which appeared in the days, months, and – such was the symbolic charge generated by the Federation – years after the festival itself. So, what does the image show us? A large, decorated triumphal arch, its three Romanesque portals casting dramatic shadow into the foreground, dominates the left-hand centre of the image.[33] This colossal structure appears to have an open terrace on its roof, peopled with tiny figures seen from behind, many of whom are brandishing umbrellas.[34] This densely packed audience extends to either side of the arch, continuing beyond the boundaries of the frame to form a wide arena where an altar, smoking with incense, partly obscures the form of Gabriel's Military Academy at the vanishing point. In the immediate foreground a path or bridge leads from the arch to the viewer, whose perspective is elevated. Groups of figures, some arranged in serried lines, others engaged in more informal modes of sociability, fill this space. Many are taking oaths, their arms raised in characteristic salute. To the right, plumes of smoke suggest the salvo of cannon fire which announced the moment of the oath, an action which was repeated in relay all around France; a militaristic emulation of the traditional role of church bells in the circulation of information. Every figure, every eye, focuses on the action in the distance. Some climb to the roof of a small sentry house to see above the heads of the crowd, whilst others appear to be running towards the arena to get a better view.

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[32] On the *vue d'optique*, a symmetrical topographical print viewed through an optical device, see: *Les Vues d'optique*, exh. cat., Musée Niépce, Chalon-sur-Saone, 1993, pp. 235-240.

[33] Triumphal arches were a popular attribute of festivals held prior to the Revolution, as well as other ceremonials such as royal entries. Blondel's influential *Cours d'architecture* (1771-77) had included a lengthy treatise on the construction of such structures. The sober simplicity of Cellerier's arch suggests that it had also been inspired by arches erected at the entrances to large towns. Despite the Ancien Regime heritage of transient structures, the temporal changes effected by the Revolution necessitated a corresponding renegotiation of the meaning of the ephemeral object.

[34] The festival witnessed distinctly unseasonal weather, and much of the procession was drenched in rain, which incidentally threatened the survival of the freshly painted festival architecture and certainly ruined the fireworks. The moment of the oath reportedly saw the clouds break and transfiguring sunlight pour in, a prominent feature of many images and descriptions. As Richard A. Etlin has observed, this unforeseen meteorological environment facilitated allegorical readings, for 'This was the festival of banished shadows and of a radiant sun.' R.A.Etlin, 'Architecture and the festival of Federation', op. cit., p. 36.

Berthault's engraving of Prieur's drawing depicts the festival of Federation at its climactic moment: the mass swearing of an oath to defend the Fatherland on Ramée's trompe-l'oeil marble-painted *autel de la patrie* in the centre of the newly-constructed arena on the Champ de Mars, seen from behind Jacques Cellerier's triumphal arch, a wooden frame covered with painted canvas, decorated with slogans and an illusionistic bas-relief frieze design by the sculptor Jean-Guillaume Moitte.[35] The print forms a parallel, conscious no doubt, with an earlier plate in the series, representing Bensenval's troops leaving the Champ de Mars nearly one year earlier, on 12th July 1789, to suppress the insurrection on the Place Louis XV (Ill. 2.4).[36] The difference between the two scenes is striking, and it seems likely that the comparison was intended to mark the distinction between Ancien-Régime and revolutionary uses of the same space, the choice of viewpoint in the later image confirming it as a mirror image of this precedent. The fact that both prints represent at a basic level, military processions, accentuates their dissimilarity. Set against one another, the differences are clear; the exodus of troops in front of a meagre and hostile audience in *Tableau* nine contrasted with the massive influx of humanity and the full participation of the crowd in *Tableau* thirty-nine. The allusion is unambiguous: as one regime departs the heroic stage, so another enters, a transitory metaphor appropriate to the Federation's unique status as both the last royal and first revolutionary festival. Most prominently, an antithetical use of architecture establishes this conflict in meaning. The troops leave the arena through a paltry iron gate, whereas the immense Federative arch which dominates Prieur's image accommodates the revolutionary oath in truly heroic, massive fashion, marking out

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[35] See: R.J.Campbell, *Jean-Guillaume Moitte: The Sculpture and Graphic Art, 1785-1799*, unpublished PhD thesis Brown University, 1982, Ann Arbor, 1983, pp. 48-60. Moitte's designs were the focus of an engraved prospectus of 1792 by Joubert, evidently retaining a significant enough symbolic cachet for the artist to launch his enterprise with it two years after the event. Entitled *Gravure. Choix de sujets intéressants, pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution Française* (BN, Qb1790, 1792) this advertisement states that the principal subject of the series was to be Moitte's emblematic designs, the success of which would, it was hoped, encourage representations of 'les détails de l'Autel de la Patrie, de l'arc de triomphe, la disposition de l'ampithéâtre National, les vues, plans, coupes, élévations & tout ce qui sera jugé digne d'être conservé.' Joubert later presented an engraving by Massard of one of Moitte's designs for the frieze on the triumphal arch to the National Assembly for exhibition in the legislative chamber, prompting Quatremère de Quincy to propose that Joubert be given honourable mention in the Assembly's *procès-verbal* and to later commission Moitte to design the frieze for the Panthéon, an indication of the dialogic interdependency of legislative and non-legislative visual production during this period.

[36] The comparison between these two prints is made in: W.Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur, Revolutionary Artists: The Public, the Populace and Images of the French Revolution*, New York, 2000, pp. 136-137.

a suitably transformative space.[37] In the image it matters little that the solidity of the arch is illusory, for the effect is convincing.[38]

Certainly, Alain-Charles Gruber's claim that 'les descriptions et les illustrations de cette cérémonie sont innombrables, mais beaucoup ont le défaut de mettre l'accent sur le sens politique de la fête de la Fédération et d'en négliger l'aspect architectural'[39] appears misguided when read against these images, an aesthetic depoliticisation of revolutionary art practice which chimes with parallel attempts to 'exorcise' the Revolution.[40] I would suggest that Prieur and many of his contemporaries in fact accentuate the architectural setting of the festival, and do so because, as the stage for the Revolution's first proper commemoration, it is itself implicitly political. Faced with a subject as unique as the Federation, artists set about interpreting its meaning, often exploiting scale as a determinant of value. Representations of subsequent festivals followed this pattern, embellishing the memory of their makeshift subjects. The images in the *Tableaux historiques* were, in fact, not as 'exceptionnellement précise' as Claudette Hould has claimed, frequently exaggerating architectural detail.[41] As Richard Etlin explains, this was

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[37] The Federative arch was approximately thirty feet high. On the importance of the boundary in 'transformative' rituals see: V.Turner and E.Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, Oxford, 1978, especially chapter one 'Pilgrimage as a Liminoid Phenomenon' pp. 1-39.

[38] According to Oscar Reutersvärd, Cellerier's arch is an example of what he terms 'sunken architecture'. Citing examples from the work of Ledoux, Boullée and Fontaine, Reutersvärd attributes the squat proportions of Cellerier's arch to a little-understood practice inherited from his master Ledoux, who adapted it from Roman models, particularly the Circus of Maxentius. This hypothesis allows us to suppose that Cellerier's arch, even if constructed from more durable materials, would depend for its effect upon an *illusion* of mass. O.Reutersvärd, 'De Sjunkna Bägarna hos Ledoux, Boullée, Cellerier och Fontaine', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, vol. 29, 1960, pp. 98-117; on this subject see also: O.Reutersvärd, 'De "sjunkande" cenotafierna hos Moreau, Fontaine, Boullée och Gay', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, vol. 22, 1959, pp. 110-126. Etlin suggests that the low, massive proportions of the arch were specifically conceived to express a military *caractère*. R.A.Etlin, op. cit., p. 28.

[39] A.-C.Gruber, *Les grandes fêtes et leurs décors à l'époque de Louis XVI*, Geneva, 1972, p. 150.

[40] See, for instance Pascal de la Vaissière's observation that: 'd'un point de vue subjectif, les sentiments partisans que soulève le contenu historique des estampes ont également fait obstacle à leur appréciation. Comment exorciser la Révolution?' *L'Art de l'estampe et la Révolution française*, exh. cat., Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1977, p. 3.

[41] The images in the *Tableaux* may have been *comparatively* naturalistic in comparison with the larger body of revolutionary print culture, in part by virtue of their high quality. Nonetheless, these images, and the publications which competed for the same market, adhered to a stylised representative format. C.Hould, 'Les *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*: mémoire et révision de l'histoire' in: *La Révolution par la gravure: les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française, une entreprise éditoriale d'information et sa diffusion en Europe, 1791-1817*, Vizille, 2002, p. 14. Warren Roberts agrees that Prieur's art is not objective, but situates this in relation to the artist's political position as a fervent Jacobin. I disagree that Prieur's radicalism is possible to determine from his images, which were produced for Girondin-sympathising publishers and mostly sold to a wealthy bourgeois audience. Such an approach exaggerates individual artistic agency to the

not limited to a single architectural feature, for: 'as with the depictions of the triumphal arch, contemporary visualisations of the altar varied significantly [...].' However, 'Each appears to transform the true size of the object and the relationship of the people on and about it at the moment of the oath.'[42]

The festival structures only took on meaning in the context of their creation and use within the restricted circumstances of the Federation, a site and time-specific allegiance ensured by the ephemerality of both the event and its decoration. Even though the altar and arch in fact survived for some time, and were re-used in subsequent celebrations on the Champ-de-Mars, they acquired after the Federation the status of unpreservable revolutionary relics, present only in reproduction, whose meaning was conditioned by their first use.[43] Barère's wish that with the Federation 'tout doit être nouveau en France et nous ne voulons dater que d'aujourd'hui'[44] acquired a material expression. Yet dream as the anonymous author of *Songe patriotique ou le monument et la fête* might, the structures of the Federation were not to be the precursor of permanent monuments in bronze and marble.[45] I argue that the non-permanence of the structures erected for this festival forms a primary site for the attribution of meaning, where we may read revolutionary desires, and the disjuncture between ideal and reality. Revolutionary memory is at stake in these objects, but this was not always mediated through permanent objects – indeed, war and shortage of materials often meant that such gestures were impossible, the 'lacuna' or 'espace désert et stérile' which Quatremère de Quincy perceived in revolutionary art production achieving a powerful, almost celebratory agency of its own within the framework of the festival.[46] In fact, both the temporary object and 'ephemeral' print are, I suggest, particularly suited to the production of memory, in that the former materially embodies forgetting and the passing of time whilst the latter literally figures an impression of absence through its material processes of

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neglect of the artist's place within a collaborative and long-running serial publication. W.Roberts, 'The Visual Rhetoric of Jean-Louis Prieur,' *Canadian Journal of History*, no. 32, December 1997, pp. 415-436.

[42] R.A.Etlin, op. cit., p. 29.

[43] The altar was re-used shortly after the Federation at the festival in honour of the victims of Nancy, September 19th 1790. See: V.N.Jouffre ed., *Fêtes et Révolution* exh. cat., Alençon, 1989, p. 62.

[44] Barère quoted in: M.Ozouf, *L'École de France: Essais sur la Révolution, l'utopie et l'enseignement*, Paris, 1984, p. 33.

[45] D***, *Songe patriotique ou le monument et la fête, a M Bailly, Maire de Paris*, Paris, 1790.

[46] 'La Révolution est une sorte de lacune, un espace désert et stérile pour l'histoire d'art'. Quatremère de Quincy quoted in: S.Bianchi, *La Révolution culturelle de l'an II: élites et peuples, 1789-1799*, Paris, 1982, p. 187.

cutting away and imprint.[47] Furthermore, in the context of the Federation, the transience of the festival architecture engendered a concentration on its materiality which was inflected by a desire to deflect potential accusations of dissimulation, and which celebrated the festival's contradictory origins in popular participation, thus mythologising the festival and providing a suitable template for subsequent festive practice.

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The idea of a Federative festival had been suggested almost from the moment of the storming of the Bastille, gathering momentum over the months which followed from the winter of 1789. On the 11th June 1790 a proposal for a national Federation, in emulation of the provincial festivals which had been springing up all over the country, was presented to the king and the following day a committee, headed by Jean-Sylvain Bailly, the mayor of Paris, which included six delegates taken from the one hundred and twenty nominated by the districts, began the onerous task of its organisation.[48]

The festival was to be restricted to a militaristic procession and oath,[49] and suggestions of a civic or municipal component to the event were quickly rebuffed.[50] The reasons for this constraint indicate possible motivations for the subsequent

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[47] As anthropologist Susanne Küchler has observed, forgetting is integral to the act of remembrance. Küchler analyses the destruction of decorated Malanggan objects from the Bismark Archipelago, whose ritual function resides in their burial and decomposition, which 'marks the triumph over death by turning the finality of death into a process of eternal return' (p. 57.). In a similar manner, the destruction of festival structures, or their reassignation for different events, allows the perpetuation of their meaning. See: S.Küchler, 'The Place of Memory' in: A.Forty and S.Küchler eds., *The Art of Forgetting*, Oxford, 1999, p. 62. See also: S.Küchler and W.Melion eds., *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation*, Washington and London, 1991.

[48] V.-N.Jouffre, 'Le chantier national. Les préparatifs de la Fédération' in: V.-N.Jouffre ed. *Fêtes et Révolution* exh. cat., Alençon, 1989, p. 48.

[49] As Talleyrand observed: 'La France armée qui va se réunir, ce n'est pas la France déliberante'. Quoted by M.Ozouf in: F.Furet and M.Ozouf, *Dictionnaire...*, op. cit., p. 187. This statement no doubt encouraged the slogan 'Tous les soldats sont frères, Tous les Citoyens sont soldats' which adorned several prints of the festival, for instance: Bibliothèque nationale Coll. De Vinck t22, no3774, Qb1 1790.

[50] Jean-Paul Marat, in particular, inveighed against the anti-revolutionary nature of this kind of military procession: 'On y voit avec plus de surprise encore les ennemis mortels de la révolution, le corps des officiers des troupes de ligne, les maréchaussées, les commissaires de guerres, les gardes du roi et des princes, les maréchaux de France, ces dignes suppôts du pouvoir exécutif, invités à venir se parjurer sur les autels de la liberté, en s'engageant à défendre jusqu'au dernier soupir la consitution, qu'ils brûlent de renverser,' *Le Junius Français, Journal politique: par M.Marat, auteur de l'Ami du peuple*, no. 9, 12th June 1790, p. 2.

desire to perpetuate the Federation, and by extension the Revolution itself, in print, for the Federation was organised against a pervasive background of insurrection dominated by a fear of Counter-Revolution and disorganised militias. The regional Federations which gave birth to the Paris spectacle were to a large degree, as Ozouf points out, exercises in defence conditioned by fear;[51] indeed, the very word 'Fédération' achieved its new-found common significance as protection against what Lambert termed 'décomposition universelle.'[52] In the weeks prior to the ceremony reports of a counter-revolutionary plot against the Federation were rife, rumours such as the alleged attempt by aristocratic conspirators to release the wild animals lodged in the *ménagerie* bordering the Champ de Mars provoking an immediate response from the nervous Parisian police.[53] By unifying the small and potentionally dangerous regional militias under the centralised rubric of the National Guard, it was hoped that the Revolution would be consolidated, made permanent, and that such dangers would be averted. As Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, who was to administer the Parisian oath, observed:

> Cette fête [...] en rendant sensible à tous les yeux le patriotisme que anime tous les Français, achèvera de persuader aux enemis de la Révolution s'il en existe encore, combien seraient vains les efforts qu'ils pourraient faire pour la détruire.[54]

For Talleyrand the visibility of this communion was the primary objective, although, as we shall see, the event swiftly developed a polysemy which transcended its military origins. Nevertheless, this statement clearly demonstrates that 'ephemerality' was a political problem which affected the whole revolutionary process, an obstacle with which the Revolution's ritual forms would, irrespective of their materiality, have to engage.

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[51] M.Ozouf, *L'école...*, op. cit, p. 37. See also: T.Tackett, 'Collective Panics in the Early French Revolution, 1789-1791', *French History*, vol. 17, no. 2, June 2003, pp. 149-171.
[52] M.Lambert, op. cit., p. 29.
[53] *Déclaration au sujet des bêtes féroces, telles que lions, tigres et léopards, qui se trouvent sous des tentes aux abords du Champ de Mars, et donnent lieu à des bruits alarmants, certains individus prétendant que, le jour de la Fédération, les aristocrates lâcheront ces animaux dans la foule afin de faire dévorer les citoyens*, 9th and 10th July 1790, A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de Police (Muséum). See also: A.Tuetey, *Répertoire général des sources manuscrites de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*, vol. 2 Assemblée Constituante 2, p. 123, document 1171 for concern about the menagerie on the Avenue des Invalides and *Chronique de Paris*, 10th July 1790, p. 763, which demanded its movement to a different site.
[54] Talleyrand (7th June 1790) quoted in: M.Lambert, op. cit., p. 30.

The committee charged with the organisation of the Federation were forced to think quickly about what form the festival should take. The festivals of the Ancien Régime and those of Antiquity provided the most immediate models, although all involved were keen to avoid the calamitous disorganisation which attended the celebrations for the marriage of the Dauphin in 1770,[55] the associations of popular violence, sexual licence and dissimulation which accompanied the annual carnival,[56] or the excessive expense and regularity of the religious festival calendar,[57] precedents which had been attacked by those of divergent political and intellectual affiliation throughout the preceding century. A tradition of royal *entrées*, firework displays and their attendant structures also provided a material typology for the revolutionary festival and its representation (Ill. 2.5). Four sites were suggested for the event, the Champ de Mars, the Plaine des Sablons, and the plains of Grenelle and St Denis, all on the outskirts of Paris.[58] Despite the greater size of the Plaine des Sablons, the Champ de Mars, an empty space in front of the Military Academy, bordering the western reaches of the Seine near the village of Passy, was finally chosen, largely for its associations with both Roman and, in its use by Charlemagne, earlier French precedents.

Competition for the construction of the Champ de Mars was fierce, and architects Blondel, Cellerier, Giraud, de Mouillefarine, de Pâris, Poyet, Mandart and Sobre all

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[55] At the celebrations following the marriage of the Dauphin to Marie-Antoinette a rocket from a firework display was discharged directly into the crowd, causing a panic. Many of the sightseers were pushed into the river and drowned, whilst others were crushed underfoot in their attempt to escape.

[56] *Lettre de M.Bailly à M. de Lafayette, relative aux mesures d'ordre exceptionelles à prendre pendant le carnaval, pour refréner la licence populaire et empêcher les insults aux passants*, 10th February 1790, B.N. Mss. fonds français 11697, fol. 36v; *Lettre du département de police, priant le district d'assurer l'exécution de l'ordonnance du 31 janvier, qui inderdit les masques, et de prévenir, pendant les jours gras, tous désordres dans les guinguettes et bals, surtout dans le Faubourg Saint-Honoré*, 10th February 1790, B.N. Mss. nouv. acq. fr. 2671, fol. 142 and *Chronique de Paris*, 4th February 1790. See also: A.de Baecque, 'The Bodies of the Political Carnival' in: A.de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell, Stanford, CA, 1997, pp. 247-254.

[57] Religious festivals were objected to on philosophical grounds, but also for practical reasons, such as an alleged increase in begging which derived from their regularity. See, for instance: M.de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Mémoire proposant la supression d'une certain nombre des fêtes dans la diocèse de Paris, comme moyen pouvant contribuer à l'extinction de la mendicité*, A.N. F[16]936. The *Encyclopédie*, too, had complained of the regularity of religious festivals and the 'occasions de crapule & de libertinage' which attended them. D.Diderot and J. le R.d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Tome 6, Neufchastel [Geneva], 1765, p. 565.

[58] See: R.A.Etlin, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

submitted proposals.[59] As Odile Ramette observes: 'La paternité de la Fédération est donc difficilement attribuable et il semble qu'il faille considérer le résultat comme un plan collectif, issu des diverses propositions.'[60] Ramette's account is in keeping with that forwarded by the committee, who suggested, in an attempt to pacify warring artists and to diffuse charges of plagiarism, that 'ainsi corrigeant un plan par un autre [...] le plan qu'ils ont arrêté n'est-il, pour ainsi dire, qu'un résultat des idées qu'ils ont puisées dans tous les plans qu'on a mis sous leurs yeux.'[61] This happy union was more in keeping with the rhetoric of Federative co-operation than historical fact, and artistic control was largely ceded to Cellerier. Nevertheless, at the level of the festival's actual construction, not to mention its effect, combining architecture, liturgy, procession, flags, broadsheets, simulacra and song, this collaborative appraisal was largely correct. Furthermore, as we shall see, this multiplicity in conception was reflected in the diversity and simultaneity which characterised the festival's representation.

Cellerier's plan involved the remodelling of the Champ de Mars into an elliptical arena which would accommodate up to three hundred thousand spectators. At one end of this vast empty space the Military Academy provided the backdrop for a cloth-covered tribunal, adorned with fleur-de-lys, which would seat the royal family and members of the National Assembly. At the other end of the field the triumphal arch would flank the Seine, where a temporary pontoon bridge would be constructed to accommodate the procession from Passy, on the other side of the river. In the centre of the arena the twenty-five foot high circular altar, set atop a square base, with a series of steps on each side, was in turn placed atop a set of

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[59] Several of these architects submitted proposals for later festivals too. During the Revolution, architectural commissions were scarce, and temporary architecture provided one of the few ways for architects to fulfil their projects, providing, at the same time, a degree of artistic freedom which allowed them to treat festival architecture as giant maquettes. See, for instance: *Lettre de M.Poyet, architecte de la Municipalité, au président de la section de la Grange-Batelière, addressant un mémoire sur l'influence que les fêtes nationales peuvent exercer sur l'opinion publique, avec un projet de cirque dans le local du Champ de la Fédération, et invitant ses concitoyens à venir chez lui voir le modèle de ce projet*, 16 April 1792, B.N. Mss., nouv. acq. fr., 2657, fol. 14 in: A.Tuetey ed., *Répertoire général...*, vol. 5, Assemblée Constituante, pp. 245-246, document 2633.

[60] O.Ramette, op. cit., p. 52.

[61] *Confédération nationale ou récit exact et circonstancié de tout ce qui s'est passé à Paris le 14 juillet 1790*, Paris, year II, p. 51. Blondel too, argued that the Champ de Mars was a collaborative effort, with Cellerier becoming involved relatively late after Mandar had suggested the plot and Blondel had begun initial design. In fact, Blondel's account amounted to an accusation of plagiarism against Cellerier. See: Blondel, *Observations du sieur Blondel, architecte and dessinateur du Cabinet du Roi, sur le projet de la fête de la Confédération Patriotique, du 14 juillet 1790, dont*

circular steps which ran the whole way around the structure. This was to be the centrepiece of the Federative oath and had to be large and sturdy enough to take the weight of several hundred officiating soldiers and priests.

The work of forming the terraces around the Champ de Mars was allocated to workers in the Parisian *ateliers de charité*, whilst the construction of the festival structures was divided into sixty parts, roles which were to be shared amongst the painters, masons, carpenters and builders of each district. The ateliers were intended forcibly to procure work for the unemployed of Paris, and were the outcome of the declaration of 4th August 1789, which had attempted to repatriate all homeless Parisians to their *pays* of origin, and to provide compulsory work for those who refused to comply.[62] From the 21st June 1790, for twenty sols a day, these workers re-shaped the ground on the Champ de Mars. Numbers rose from four thousand to ten thousand, nearly all the workers available from the *ateliers*, and pay was increased to thirty sols to encourage productivity, whilst many were persuaded to work throughout the night.[63] Despite these entreaties, work was well behind schedule, and the whole operation reached crisis point following a strike over long hours by many labourers from the *ateliers de charité*. On the 30th June 1790 a letter, authored by a soldier named Carthéri, appeared in the *Chronique de Paris*, urging members of the army to aid the construction of the Champ de Mars.[64] The idea proved popular, and whole battalions of soldiers volunteered. Despite concern over security, by the 8th July approximately three hundred thousand Parisians, about half the population of Paris, had joined the soldiers and the skilled artisans from the sections who were responsible for building the festival structures, in what swiftly became romanticised as the *journée des brouettes*.

The many representations of this vast building site and its varied cast of characters are the first images relating to the revolutionary festival, and constitute a unique, unrepeated category amongst festival images. The few images representing other festivals during their construction or shortly before their occurrence, such as

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M.de Varennes, Huissier de l'Assemblée Nationale, a donné l'idée, & dont les Plans & Dessins ont été présentés par lesdits Sieurs, à MM.Bailly, & la Fayette, Paris, 1790.

[62] See my chapter three, pp. 158-159.

[63] V.-N.Jouffré, 'Le Chantier National', op. cit., p. 57.

[64] *Chronique de Paris*, 30th June 1790.

Michel's sketch of the mountain erected for the festival of the Supreme Being[65] (Ill. 2.6), are for the most part drawings confined to a limited audience, whereas images of the preliminaries for the Federation were reproduced in large quantities at various qualities and appear to have been an integral component of the paradigmatic narrative of the festival. In the days following the festival, and the *bals illuminés* and aerostatic celebrations which continued for several days on the Champ de Mars and the ruins of the Bastille, images of the Federative celebrations, including the preparations, began to appear in abundance, flooding the printshops of Paris in the environs of the rue Saint-Jacques.

Revolutionary Paris offered unprecedented opportunity for printmakers flexible enough to adapt to a market determined by political discourse, and in the early years of the Revolution printed representations of the 'stages' of the festival appeared in multiple media of widely divergent quality and price, as many artists turned their hand to historical scenes of the Revolution in progress.[66] Certainly, the iconography of the preparations, which accentuated the mixing of social classes, often described, as in Béricourt's gouache (Ill. 2.7), in a ribald visual language derived from the topsy-turvy world of the carnival, marked these images out as specifically festive and demonstrably more inclusive than the military exclusivity of the procession and oath, as represented in Prieur and Berthault's engraving. Consequently, such images often represent scenes of sociability and consumption, eagerly formalised in later rituals as the *repas fraternel*, or civic meal. The *journée des brouettes*, and the post-Federation dancing at the ruins of the Bastille on the fifteenth and sixteenth of July, appeared as festivals of a more 'traditional' bent, punctuated by the somewhat austere demonstration of fraternity which was the festival 'proper'.[67]

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[65] A manuscript note on this image by the engraver Duplessi-Bertaux, who owned it, confirms its reliability as a 'document', stating that: 'J'y étais et je garantis le croquis exact'.

[66] For accounts of one fairly typical career see: D.Cahill, 'Abraham Girardet, graveur Suisse à Paris sous la Révolution Française', *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, July-September 1992, Tome 64, pp. 434-438 and R.Burnand, *L'Étonnante histoire des Girardet, artistes Suisses*, Neuchatel, 1940.

[67] On the ambiguity, indeed impossibility, of a 'traditional' festival see: A.Poitrineau, 'La fête traditionnelle' in: J.Ehrard and P.Viallaneix eds., op. cit., pp. 11-26. Retif de la Bretonne recounts a more typical festive incident on the night of the 13th, when at the entrance to the Champ de Mars he was mugged by a group of young men, amongst which he identified an engraver. N.Retif de la Bretonne in: *Les Nuits Révolutionnaires, 1789-1793*, Paris, 1989, p. 61.

From a contemporary almanac, one image illustrates the collaborative nature of the construction, the effort of many carpenters, painters, and other skilled artisan-entrepreneurs (Ill. 2.8). In the words of a dedication to a lyric poem in honour of Bailly, this was 'un moment où les artistes de tous les genres déploient à l'envi leurs talens pour consacrer la sublime et touchante cérémonie de la Confédération.'[68] Significantly, the author includes within his description of the effects of the festival the wider body of representative imagery, images which 'multiplient sous mille aspects différens cette fête [...] permettez à un jeune auteur profondement pénétré de voir la France entière.'[69] Concentrating upon the Federative arch in mid-construction – the scaffolded superstructure is clearly visible – this image demonstrates a surprising willingness amongst Parisian printmakers to represent the ephemerality of the festival structures. The incompletion of the arch denotes the context of its construction, the fraternal effort of the Parisian volunteers, reaffirming the unique status of the Federation. Yet it simultaneously deconstructs the monumental allusions and pretence at material, and therefore political solidity, which the arch invoked. Brongniart's description of the *journée des brouettes* as resembling an antique bas-relief perhaps derives from a desire to re-inscribe some of the associative weight which the representation of the arch's humble materiality denied.[70]

In a similar manner, an anonymous etching titled *Vue des travaux du Champ de Mars le 12 juillet 1790* (Ill. 2.9) allows the spectator to see right under and through the Federative altar, which at this point appears uncannily like a scaffold, put in place for an execution. The tumbrils filled with priests and aristocrats, and the raised adzes of the labourers accentuate this perception, for like Béricourt's image, which also exposes the skeleton of the altar, the image retains, alongside the public allegations of fraternity, a simmering sense of carnivalesque violence. This conflict is embodied in a central detail of the exposed buttocks of a young woman, falling into the mud from a wheelbarrow, a social tension compounded by the representation of well-dressed figures leisurely mounting the steps to the left-hand

[68] C.-F.X. Mercier de Compeigne, *La Fédération ou offrande à la Liberté Française, Poeme lyrique en un acte. Dédié a M.Bailly, Maire de la ville de Paris, et aux soixante districts*, Paris, 1790, pvii.
[69] C.-F.X.Mercier de Compeigne, op. cit., pvii.
[70] Letter from Brongniart to Mme Vigée-Lebrun, 20th July 1790, quoted in: J.Silvestre de Sacy, *Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart, 1739-1813: sa vie et sa oeuvre*, Paris, 1940, p. 76. According to

side of the image, oblivious to a team of citizens labouring alongside, and by a ubiquitous *Vainqueur* of the Bastille, in 'Roman' costume.[71] One version of this print, published by Gentot, lists at its base the social constitution of the ten thousand people supposedly involved in this patriotic enterprise. They included:

> Les femmes, les filles, les Religieux, les Dames de la Halle, les Suisses, les Artistes, la Garde Nationale. Nos frères les deputés du Pacte Fédératif, tous les Corps de Métiers, des Habitans de Village situés à 7 lieus de Paris, les Colleges la Maison du Roi, des Princes enfin.[72]

Despite this apparent diversity, and for every outpouring of civic solidarity contained within this pre-festival 'festival', there were, as should be expected, dissenting voices, and all involved appeared eager to mark out their territory. During the hurried preparations, it was noted how professional categories were demarcated by banners proclaiming loyalty to the principles of the Revolution, the carrying of which expressed a professional pride upon behalf of the bearers, accentuated by the unprecedented sense of civic responsibility and fraternity which the occasion conferred. Amongst the other trades, one commentator was compelled to recall the actions of the printers:

> Les imprimeurs avoient écrit sur leur drapeau: *Imprimerie, premier flambeau de la liberté*; ceux de M. Prudhomme avoient des bonnets du même papier que celui qui couvre les *révolutions*; leur légende étoit: *Révolutions de Paris.*[73]

Richard Etlin, Girardet's representation of events in the *Tableaux historiques* is compatible with Brongniart's description. R.A.Etlin, op. cit., p. 38, n40.

[71] Several popular songs and pamphlets refer to women's 'civic duty' in making themselves sexually available to the heroes of the Revolution. See the sung dialogue (to the tune of the Marseillaise) between a man and a woman, who offers 'favours' to Vainqueurs, in: *Les Héros Français, au sexe Républicain* in: B.Cercey, *Recueil de chansons nouvelles patriotiques et Républicaines*, Paris, 1792, p. 8.

[72] Gentot pub., *Vue des travaux du Champ-de-Mars par les Parisiens*, Bibliothèque nationale Coll. Hennin t122 no10746, 1790.

[73] *Confédération nationale, ou récit exact & circonstancié de tout ce qui s'est passé à Paris, le 14 juillet 1790, à la Fédération, avec le recueil de toutes les pièces officielles & authentiques relatives des principales pièces littéraires auxquelles elle a donné lieu, & le détail de toutes les circonstances qui ont précédé, accompagné & suivi cette auguste cérémonie. Avec cinq gravures*, Paris, 1790, p. 66. This description is lifted directly from *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no. 34, 14th July 1790, p. 462. Richard Wrigley has documented the existence of similar sartorial behaviour at the Panthéonisation of Voltaire. In this instance the printers wore paper caps with 'freedom of the press' on the front and 'live free or die' on the back. They gathered around a tricolore inscribed 'universal confederation of the friends of truth', a reference to the publications of the Cercle Social, who printed the journal in which this description was published. *La Bouche de fer*, 12th July 1791, no. 90, pp. 4-5 in: R.Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*, Oxford and New York, 2002, p. 193.

This fantastic piece of self-advertisement on behalf of Prudhomme gives us an early indication of the self-referentiality which was to characterise representations of the festival. As one contemporary print headed *Aristocrates vous voilà donc f....* demonstrates (Ill. 2.10), representations of the construction of the Champ de Mars eagerly dramatised the nascent social conflict of the Revolution, here played out on a stage of its own making. This was a process in which the king, too, was implicated, and several prints implausibly represent the monarch toiling with a pick on the Champ de Mars. For Lynn Hunt, these images, such as the frontispiece to number thirty-six of the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* (Ill. 2.11), tell us more than their subject initially implies. Hunt argues that the representation of Louis in these circumstances articulated the struggle to reform France's political system, casting the king as an equal participant in the narrative of inheritance, the family romance, which she outlines.[74] There is certainly a distinctly libidinal aspect to this imagery, the penetrative and fertile implications of the father of the people sowing his seed reiterating the message carried by texts and images representing Louis as a gardener tending the ploughshare, which were distributed around the time of his marriage to Marie-Antoinette.[75] Although this image is clearly propagandistic, for the king was an unwilling participant in the Federation, aristocratic involvement in the construction of the festival was limited, if not entirely absent. This was a feature embellished in several prints, which eagerly played up the ironies of well-dressed gentlemen and ladies knee-deep in mud pushing wheelbarrows, and which offset the abiding sense of consensus summed up by the revolutionary anthem 'ah! ça ira' (ah! everything will be fine), which made its first appearance during the construction of the Champ de Mars.[76]

Prints of the preparations for the Federation engage with a comic tradition which is all but lacking in images of the main event, apart from occasional caricatures of a grotesque clergy and aristocracy at the margins of the festival (Ill. 2.12) or licentious images such as the print titled euphemistically *La Con-fédération nationale* (Ill. 2.13), which explicitly ridicules the Federation's 'regenerative' pretensions. The subject of the *journée des brouettes* encouraged a certain visual

[74] L.Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992, p. 43.
[75] On these images, distributed in 1767 by the order of Louis XV, see: A.de Baecque, op. cit., p. 37.
[76] Although the general sentiment of the song was conciliatory, its words changed with great fluidity and often encompassed more hostile references, particularly in the context of street violence and popular rebellion. L.Mason, op. cit., p. 27.

dialogue, or open-endedness, specific to an event which inaugurated a nebulous new era of revolutionary history. This was made visually apparent in Le Guay's unfinished version of the preparations (Ill. 2.14), which dissolves into an undetermined, vague wash to the left-hand side, and a similarly incomplete print of the same event (Ill. 2.15), which materially exaggerate the unfinished character of their subject matter. For the audience of prints of the preparations, whose political subjectivity was being formed by their representation, it was however, essential that they be distanced from the dissimulation which attended traditional festivals, and which was established as a characteristic of counter-revolutionary intrigue. Revolutionary festivals were structured around legislative interdiction against the wearing of masks and other deceptive practices, no more so than at the Federation.[77] Police regulations for the day of the festival required that all hoteliers submit lists of residents, whilst the desire to prevent 'counter-revolutionary' sedition forbade the invitation of strangers into one's home, and ensured the suspension of all traffic (*circulation*) in large parts of the capital.[78]

Eager to prevent a repeat of the scenes witnessed at Lille, where seven spectators had drowned in the swollen river Deûle, security at the festival was to be strictly regulated.[79] Everyday circulation was effectively arrested in favour of its ritual form, an action which enforced spectatorship by demanding participation. Dissimulation, as in the case of one Louise Dollet, an eighteen year old girl arrested for attending the Federation dressed as a captain of the National Guard, was not to be tolerated.[80] How, then, could festival organisers justify the inclusion in the festival's sacred space of artifice, materialised in the arch and altar, as a

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[77]See the restrictions placed on a privately organised ball in 1791: *Autorisation au sieur Roze de Saint-Pierre de donner un bal de nuit , le 9 janvier, dans le Cirque du Palais Royal, à la charge d'avoir une garde de trente hommes au moins à sa solde et de ne tolérer aucun masque ou déguisement*, 8th January 1791, Minute A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de police (Butte-des-Moulins). See also: M.des Essarts, *Dictionnaire universel de Police*, vol. VI, Paris, 1788, p. 363. I would like to thank Richard Clay for alerting me to this reference.

[78] *Description de la fête du Pacte Fédératif, avec la détail de l'ordre de la marche et du cérémonial [...] fixée par la ville, avec la reglement de la police*, Paris, 1790, pp. 6-8.

[79] Unfortunately however, eighteen fédérés and two women did drown crossing the Seine on a barge in their eagerness to get a better view of the festival, an accident which did nothing to spoil the general elation of the day. H.d'Alaméras, *La Vie Parisienne sous la Révolution et le Directoire*, Paris, 1909, p. 39.

[80] *Procès-verbal dressé contre Louise Dollet, âgée de dix-huit ans, pensionnaire du théâtre de Monsieur, qui avait revêtu l'uniforme de capitaine de la garde nationale et l'avait porté deux jours durant, notamment à la Fédération*, 15th July 1790, Minute A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de police (Montmartre). See also Richard Wrigley's discussion of uniforms for

fundamental attribute? How, too were printmakers to accommodate this falsehood with the appropriate degree of monumentality, for by its nature print implies replication and therefore a challenge to the transparent original. It had to be hoped that mass reproduction would imply a multiplication of metaphorical meaning – if not, could it, like hyperinflating paper money, reach a critical point of mass where its symbolic worth would begin to decrease? Later festivals concentrated these problems of artificiality and repetition, for both mime and simulacra '[...] involved mock figures made necessary by the absence of the event or individuals represented. They therefore involved deception for Rousseauist sensibilities that already suspected an element of betrayal in any kind of duplication.'[81]

Remaining, as in Michelet's eulogy, '[...] like a wonderful dream,'[82] the festival of Federation swiftly took refuge in historical representation. 'Elle a passé comme un songe' Retif de la Bretonne wistfully recalled.[83] The euphoric, utopian character of the day was not contained in the events of the festival itself, but drew its relevance from the manner of the festival's organisation, the sheer scale of the administrative constraints which surrounded it, and the post-Federation celebrations, organised by Palloy at the Bastille. The representation of the pre-emptive festival of the Federation's construction in images such as *L'effet du patriotisme et l'activité des citoyens de Paris* (Ill. 2.16) or *Préparatifs de la fête de la Fédération* (Ill. 2.17) was a necessary component in the visual assemblage of the festival's mythology, justifying the equivocal meaning of the Federation's material construction.

In addition, amongst the transient effects which constituted the *mise-en-scène* of the festival of Federation, we should not ignore the crowd which dominated its subsequent representation, taking the Federative oath, dancing at the Bastille, where greenery adorned yet another temporary wooden framework (Ill. 2.18), and essentially, constructing the festival space. The crowd too aimed at transparency, and was the ultimate signifier of the unity and allegiance which the festival represented. Hunt argues that images of the Federation demonstrate the degree to

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the National Guard and other official bodies and the means employed to subvert them. R.Wrigley, *The Politics...*, op. cit, pp. 59-96.

[81] M Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit., p. 209 n13.

[82] J.Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*, trans. by Charles Cocks, Chicago and London, 1967, p. 454.

[83] N.Retif de la Bretonne in: *Les Nuits...*, op. cit., p. 63.

which the traditional familial structures of royalty had been superseded, for: 'The prints depicting the festival showed [...] in short, virtually atomistic individuals linked to the nation through their oaths rather than by their families or other particular ties.'[84] Images of the construction of the Champ de Mars prefigured, and in many ways created this national consensus – it was not enough that the people unite to build the arena, they had to be shown to be doing so.

Representations of revolutionary festivals are not, as I have said, equivalent to their subjects, but rather, following Barthes's claim that an image 'is not the repository of a system but the generation of systems,'[85] actively 'create' the festival outside of its temporal boundaries. It follows that images of the people building the Champ de Mars and its transient decorations bring together and account for competing anxieties and desires: the need for transparency and the simultaneous craving for permanence and solidity, and the Federation's genesis in popular participation and conclusion in militarised state formality. In the image of the construction of the Champ de Mars, the union of the people of Paris is expressed in terms of innocence, recalling a time of untroubled simplicity and transparent fidelity. The significance of representations concerning the fabrication of the ephemeral structures of the festival extends beyond documentation of the *journée des brouettes* to a metaphysical interpretation of its material characteristics. The demystification of the spectacle before it is enacted, indicates, I believe, a desire to accentuate the theatrical qualities of the festival effects as a means of preventing a confusion of the signs of the real with the real itself.

In an article entitled 'The truth without make-up', published by the Imprimerie du Cercle Social,[86] a carpenter by the name of Lanoa appeals for payment for work carried out during the Federation. The title neatly inverts the artifice of the festive scenario, implying that the truth may be discovered beneath the layers of dissimulation effected by both the decorations of the festival itself, and arguably, its

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[84] L.Hunt, op. cit., p. 46.

[85] R.Barthes, *La peinture est-elle un langage?* quoted in: P.Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution*, London, 1995, p. 9.

[86] The printers of the Girondist group which included Chamfort, Ginguené, and Fauchet, authors of the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, as well as other luminaries such as Louis-Sebastien Mercier, and which exerted considerable political pressure during the early years of the Revolution. See: G.Kates, *The Cercle Social, The Girondins, and the French Revolution*, Princeton, NJ, 1985.

subsequent mythic status. In addition, the author reaffirms the heroic actions of the professional builders of the Federation in the face of shadowy aristocratic enemies, claiming that:

> Notre activité a vaincu les obstacles multipliés et les efforts redoublés des agens secrets de l'aristocratie: nous n'avons pas craint nos enemis; au contraire, nous avons redoublé de zèle, et tous les sacrifices qu'il a fallu faire ne nous ont rien coûté.[87]

By invoking the 'make-up' with which the festival was adorned, and which potentially threatened its survival, Lanoa expresses an anxiety of equivalence between the facture of the festival and the dissembling of those who desired its ruin. We may read Lanoa's request as a further attempt to render the Federation transparent, a feat which representations of its fabrication achieve in order that the faux-solidity of the festival and its structures should be absolved from criticism.

Lanoa's heroicisation of the carpenters' work chimes with contemporary reports, legislative and non-official, which dwelt heavily upon the material appearance of a festival whose decoration was '[...] unique dans l'histoire, et qui surpassera, sans doute, tout ce que la Grèce, Rome, et Palmyre ont jamais imaginé & exécuté même de plus brillant.'[88] This appeal to the future by reference to a utopian ancient past is mirrored countless times, we read that: '[...] de tous les monumens élévés par les hommes, en mémoire d'une époque remarquable, ou pour la célébration d'une fête, on n'a jamais rien vu d'aussi majestueux et d'aussi imposant que l'arc de triomphe servant de portique au Champ-de-Mars et l'Autel de la Patrie, construit au milieu de cette enceinte [...],'[89] whilst the author of a poem in honour of the Federation claims that 'des beaux jours de Rome & d'Athènes' are apparent in the arena, where

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[87] Lanoa, *La vérite sans fard, par les Entrepreneurs, menuisiers, et autres, qui ont fourni et construit les travaux que toute la France a admirés au Champ-de-Mars, à la Fédération générale le 14 juillet 1790*, Paris, 1790, p. 3. The success of ensuing festivals was compromised by late payments to workers, which no doubt lessened public enthusiasm. The poverty caused by the depreciation of the assignat, war and speculation ensured that other festivals had to re-work exisiting objects, and that they were fabricated in a very short time so as to avoid paying workers more than was necessary. This perceived lack of novelty may account, in part at least, for the decrease in representations of festivals after the Federation.

[88] *Tableau et détails de l'ordre, de la marche & des cérémonies qui s'observeront dans la fête nationale qui sera célébrée au Champ-de-Mars...etc.*, Paris, 1790, p. 6.

[89] *Plan, allegories et inscriptions de l'Arc de Triomphe et de l'Autel de la Patrie, au Champ-de-Mars*, Paris, 1790, p. 2.

the 'obélisques et pyramides' attest not to vain pride, but rather are 'monumens d'esclaves timides, vous qu'élevoit un Peuple en deuil.'[90]

'A people in mourning'? According to Freud, the recognition that a revered object is transient, and will ultimately be no longer, engenders a state of 'mourning' in which the libido attaches itself to the departed object, possibly in anticipation of its actual demise. With the extinction of the object, or even the recognition of its future decomposition, we are inclined to cling fervently to that which remains, in particular common attributes, for instance national pride. Transience and identity are, in Freud's model, intrinsically linked: absence makes the heart grow fonder. The transient object does not lose its value, for those mourning it are unwilling to renounce it and move towards a substitute until this phase has been completed.[91]

The ephemeral quality of the festival, and its removal to the image, may be considered in these terms, the image functioning as the preservation of the festival while the memory of it has value. Furthermore, the consciously transient nature of the Federative arch and altar and the charge of their inevitable demise may have been annulled by the installation of a pre-recognition of this destruction in the depiction of their ephemeral status. Indeed, it appears that at one level the festival remained perfect only through destruction, scarcity value in time intensifying its symbolic charge, a process heightened by the absence of any props which could deceive the future. The monuments which elevate a people in mourning are not therefore exclusively contained within the festival time-space. Rather, they are visual constructions of contemporary history framing an inviolable absence, mediated through and formed by, the printed image.

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[90] *Couplets patriotiques pour la fête du 14 juillet*, Paris, 1790, unpaginated.

[91] S.Freud, 'On Transience' in: The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol XIV: Art and Literature, trans. by James Strachey, London, 1990 [1915], pp. 287-289.

Revolutionary models/model revolutionaries

> Sur la tribune le bonnet rouge était peint en gris. Les royalistes commencèrent par rire de ce bonnet rouge gris, de cette salle postiche, de ce monument de carton, de ce sanctuaire de papier mâché, de ce panthéon de boue et de crachat. Comme cela devait disparaître vite! Les colonnes étaient en douves de tonneau, les voûtes étaient en volige, les bas-reliefs étaient en mastic, les entablements étaient en sapin, les statues étaient en plâtre, les marbres étaient en peinture, les murailles étaient en toile; et dans la provisoire la France a fait l'eternel.[92]

It is significant that a Revolution which left few monuments endowed the future with a pair of uninhabited spaces, in the Champ de Mars and the ruins of the Bastille, where absence is the primary signified. History was built through reflection upon a vacuum, the empty and emptied spaces of these two sites resonating as publicly sanctified revolutionary 'stages'. In her letters, written in 1790, Helen Maria Williams revealed the extent to which the destruction of the signs of feudalism engendered a pleasurable nostalgia in the tourist:

> Before I suffered my friends at Paris to conduct me through the usual routine of convents, churches, and palaces, I requested to visit the Bastille; feeling a much stronger desire to contemplate the ruins of that building than the most perfect edifices in Paris.[93]

In this context, little wonder that Pierre-François Palloy's commodification of the fragments of the Bastille as souvenirs found such a ready market.[94] Marie-Joseph-Chenier's hymn, written for and performed at the Federation to music by Gossec, had urged the faithful to commemoration and homage, suggesting: 'Gravons sur les débris de ces tours formidables,' that is, the Bastille, 'le récit de combat, les exploits de vainqueurs, les lois de notre empire, et les noms respectables de nos premiers législateurs.'[95] In many ways Chénier's appeal was successful, for what debris there was had already been carted off by Palloy, to reappear shortly afterwards in the form of 'simulacra' carried at festivals (Ill. 2.19), or engraved and dispersed

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[92] V.Hugo, *Quatrevingt-treize*, Paris, 1973, p. 194. Hugo is describing the temporary architecture of the Salle de l'Assemblée, but his remarks could have as easily been applied to festival decoration.
[93] H.M.Williams, *Letters written in France, 1790*, London, 1796, p. 22.
[94] Palloy himself campaigned tirelessly for the commission to erect a monument on both the site of the Bastille and the Champ de Mars. See: P.-F.Palloy, *Pétition à l'Assemblée Nationale, relative au cérémonial à observer pour la pose de la première pierre du monument érigé à la Liberté dans l'emplacement de la Bastille, le 14 juillet 1792, fête de la Fédération*, Paris, 1792, pp. 1-3.
[95] M.-J. Chenier, *Hymne pour la fête de la Fédération le 14 juillet 1790*, Paris, 1790, p. 4.

amongst communes and departments (Ill. 2.20), whilst the site of the prison was returned to repeatedly within festival liturgies, forcing a connection with its regenerated space and the wholly new ritual space of the festival arena. Indeed, a document of 1792 from the committee of the Section de la Rue de Beaubourg thanking Palloy for the gift of eight prints makes explicit the memorialising potential of the festival space. As the inventory shows, all the prints except one, a view of the Champ de Mars, are depictions of tombs and monuments commemorating the dead.[96] Although the memory of the 1791 massacre in the same space may have initiated the connection with fallen heroes, this segment of Palloy's commemorative programme attempts symbolically to Panthéonise the festival space as a monumental revolutionary archetype.[97]

Armand-Guy Kersaint, on the other hand, was less convinced that the Champ de Mars could in its initial state function as an adequate ritual space. 'Mais cette enceinte [the Champ de Mars] est abandonnée' he argued, 'l'autel de la patrie composé de fragiles matériaux, semble dire au despotisme: le serment des Français, qui t'a fait trembler, sera fragile et passager comme moi.'[98] This association between material and political solidity was to be exploited by counter-revolutionary publishers, for instance in one image representing a wax Liberty melting in the rays of the sun (Ill. 2.21). Recurrent physical attacks on the Federative structures may have fuelled Kersaint's indignation. When the altar was assaulted by a group of counter-revolutionaries dressed as priests, who, after killing a guard, proceeded to wipe out the inscriptions and tear the fragile canvas decorations which adorned the structure,[99] or, when the Federation of 1791 was disrupted by royalist counter-

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[96] *Déliberation du comité de la section de la rue Beaubourg, exprimant sa gratitude à M.Palloy, pour l'envoi par lui fait de huit estampes*, Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Coll. Liesville, no.VIII in: A.Tuetey, *Répertoire générale...*, vol. 5, Assemblée Législative 2, Paris, 1902, p. 212, document 2393.

[97] The massacre by Lafayette's troops of up to fifty signatories of a petition against the king's reinstatement on 17th July 1791, three days after that year's Federation, was provoked by the attempted lynching of two suspected counter-revolutionaries hidden beneath the altar.

[98] A.-G.Kersaint, *Discours prononcé au Conseil du Département de Paris, le 15 décembre 1791*, Paris, 1791, unpaginated.

[99] *Détail de l'horrible assassinat, commis hier au soir au Champ de la Fédération, sur la personne d'une sentinelle, et insulte faite a l'autel de la patrie, par une troupe d'aristocrates et d'abbés*, Paris, 1790, p. 5; and *Fureur du Père Duchêne, contre les soixante Calotins qui ont saccagé et profané l'autel de la patrie, et assassiné la sentinelle du Champ-de-Mars, et désarmé le corps-de-garde*, Paris, 1790, p. 2. The latter text identifies the attackers as 'apprentis en hypocrisie, de la rue Saint-Jacques', most probably young theology students from the 'écoles barbares'.

revolutionaries throwing stones at the altar,[100] it became painfully obvious that the Revolution's symbolic objects, in short, its memory, could be erased with surprising ease. Proposing an altar made from Bastille stones, Kersaint was aware that the 'rhetorique de la substitution'[101] for which the Federation, constructed in such a hurry, was excused, raised significant problems for subsequent festivals. Furthermore, as Grégoire acknowledged, the Federation was more than a commemoration, becoming an event of primary significance in itself, and exerting a hold over a theatrical revolutionary imagination which desired a more permanent conclusion:

> Un monument public est, pour ainsi dire, le drame abrégé d'un grand événement; lui faire parler un langage inconnu, seroit aussi déplacé, que si, dans Macbeth, le fantôme qui vient sur la scène épouvanter l'assassin, prononçoit en idiôme étranger ces mots terribles: *tu ne dormiras plus!*[102]

The objects: sculptures, paintings and architecture, which, excluding the participants, were the central material feature of most revolutionary festivals, embodied the conflict between those, such as Benezech, who, in 1797, claimed that: 'Ce n'est plus le temps où l'on ne pouvait donner les fêtes au peuple sans élever à grands frais des monumens fragiles qui étonnaient les yeux sans satisfaire la raison,'[103] and the position outlined by Gence, who, in the year II had insisted that: 'Il faudroit sur-tout frapper l'âme par les yeux, le plus puissant de nos organes, et montrer aux yeux de tous une série d'objets, dont l'assemblage pût être facilement saisi par tous.'[104] Throughout the Revolution, ideologues and legislators expressed considerable anxiety regarding the status of representation and the utility of images. The gap between 'reality' and its representation often proved an insurmountable

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[100] N.Ruault, *Gazette d'un Parisien sous la Révolution: lettres à son frère 1783-1796*, Paris, 1976 [15th July 1791], p. 251.

[101] A.Jourdan, 'Statues de plâtre ... statues de plomb ... une rhétorique de l'image dans la propagande révolutionnaire', *CRIN*, no. 21, 1989, p. 36.

[102] Grégoire, who argued that: 'Les monumens antiques sont des médailles sous un autre forme, ils doivent être conservés dans leur totalité' expressed a common revolutionary preoccupation with 'wholeness', possibly influenced in this case by the context of the assignat's fragmentation and the opposing solidity of the honorific medal. Abbé Grégoire, *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monumens publics, séance du 22 nivôse, l'an II de la République une & indivisible*, Paris, year II, p. 4 and p. 9.

[103] Benezech, *Instruction sur la célébration des fêtes nationales, adressée par le Ministre de l'Intérieur aux Commissaires du Pouvoir exécutif près des Administrations départementales et municipales*, Paris, 1797, pp. 4-5.

[104] Cit. Gence, *Vues sur les fêtes publiques, et application de ces vues a la fête de Marat*, Paris, year II, pp. 3-4.

obstacle for the minds of a century in which transparency, and the 'Other' which this paradigm formed in fear of, made for two of the most profoundly experienced antagonistic certainties. When Rousseau, sublime referent of the Revolution, expressed his horror in old age at having told a weak lie in his youth,[105] he embodied the suspicion with which the late eighteenth-century political class viewed all forms of concealment, falsehood and masquerade. This fear of dissimulation reached its apotheosis during the Terror, as the paranoiac obsession with unmasking climaxed on the political stage. Nevertheless from the earliest days of the Revolution, the fear of the Revolution disintegrating and the establishment of difference with Ancien-Régime privacy and deception encouraged the belief that an undisguised materiality should figure as a condition of revolutionary virtue.

The use of images and temporary structures in a festival context was problematic, largely because it raised the ambiguous spectre of theatrical production.[106] This association became increasingly contentious as the Revolution progressed, culminating in Claude-François Payan's speech to the National Convention which banned the theatrical representation of the festival of the Supreme Being.[107] Despite unease over the status of the theatre, which was presumed to separate actors from their audience and to passify spectators to an unhealthy degree, festivals and the stage shared a history, actors and inevitably, props. At the festival of Reunion of 10th August 1793, otherwise known as the festival of the Unity and Indivisibility of the Republic, David planned a suitably dramatic conclusion at the Champ de Mars. 'Enfin' he wrote, 'il sera construit un vaste théâtre où seront représentés par des pantomimes les principaux événements de notre révolution.'[108] David had that year begun a design for a curtain at the Opéra, where attendance at patriotic plays

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[105] 'I, whose horror of falsehood outweighs all my other feelings, who would willingly face torture rather than tell a lie, by what strange inconsistency could I lie so cheerfully without compulsion or profit?' J.-J.Rousseau, *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, trans. by Peter France, Harmondsworth, 1979, p. 64. Jean Starobinski observes that Rousseau's ideal of transparency was often expressed through metaphors of water or crystal. The relative fluidity and solidity of these metaphors indicates an awareness that even the non-permanent and mobile may articulate ideas of translucent moral judgement. See: J.Starobinski, *J.-J.Rousseau: la transparence et l'obstacle*, Paris, 1971, p. 301.

[106] See: M.-H.Huet, *Mourning Glory, The Will of the French Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 32-36 and M.-H.Huet, *Rehearsing the Revolution: The Staging of Marat's Death, 1793-1797*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982 and S.Maslan, 'Resisting Representation: Theater and Democracy in Revolutionary France', *Representations*, no. 52, Fall 1995, pp. 27-51.

[107] *Le Moniteur*, no. 297, 27 messidor an II (15th July 1794), p. 210.

[108] *Ordre, marche, et détail des céremonies pour la Fédération du 10 août 1793, au Champ-de Mars, sur l'Autel de la Patrie*, Paris, 1793, p. 7. From 1792 David was placed in principal charge of

was recommended, which allegorised a ceremonial iconography familiar from his antique-derived festival designs (Ill. 2.22). Famously, at the festival of Reason held in Notre Dame Cathedral in November 1793, an actress from the Opéra represented Liberty, seated atop a 'mountain' and attended to by white-robed devotees.[109] It was appropriate, if coincidental that this 'living sculpture' was the wife of Momoro, a printer, for the festival, although rarely represented (Ill. 2.23) embodied perhaps more than any other the tensions surrounding the visual replication of revolutionary ideas.

Desmoulins, for one, writing in *Le Vieux Cordelier*, was disgusted by what he considered a trivialisation of the Revolution's grand claims by those who sought to overcome the disparity between image and ideal, asking:

> Et a quel autre signe veut-on que je reconnaisse cette liberté divine? Cette liberté, ne serait-ce qu'un vain nom? N'est-ce-qu'une actrice de l'Opéra, la Candeille ou la Maillard promenées avec un bonnet rouge, ou bien cette statue de 46 pieds de haut que propose David? Si par la liberté vous n'entendez pas comme moi les principes, mais seulement un morceau de pierre, il n'y eut jamais l'idolâtrie plus stupide et si coûteuse que la nôtre.[110]

Paradoxically, the use of real women to embody Liberty, or as living incarnations of virtues, arose from an appetite for transparency which aimed to be 'so close to nature that it would evoke none of the old-fashioned strivings after false images.'[111] In addition, a real figure avoided the miniaturisation which plagued many three-dimensional festival representations, reducing the ritual object to the level of parody or insignificance.

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festival organisation. On David's role in festivals see, in particular: D.L.Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1948.

[109] As Ozouf points out, the festival was hurriedly arranged in the place of a civic, and predominantly musical festival of Liberty which had been arranged to take place that day in the Palais-Royal, retaining most of its symbolic scenography but re-siting it in Notre Dame, with a flame on the mountain representing Reason, rather than the actress, as is commonly suggested. M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit., pp. 97-98. Ernst Gombrich, nevertheless, situates this transition from Liberty to Reason in the context of a transformed symbolism. E.H.Gombrich, 'The Dream of Reason: Symbolism of the French Revolution', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 1979, p. 189.

[110] C.Desmoulins, *Le Vieux Cordelier*, no 4, décadi 30 frimaire, l'an II (20th December 1793), in: P.Pachet ed. *Le Vieux Cordelier, 1793-1794*, Paris, 1987, pp. 61-62. David had proposed, on 17 brumaire an II (7th November 1793) to preserve the allegories of the festival of Reunion of 10th August 1793 in order to make a statue fifteen metres tall of the French people destroying idols of tyrranny and superstititon. This would be made from symbolically appropriated bronze melted down from enemy cannon.

Although it is often difficult to determine exactly who was involved in the organisation and construction of particular festivals and what was in fact achieved, such was the quantity of proposals submitted and accounts published, a concern with solidity and the dynamics of transience pervades the majority of festival plans. For instance, we might consider the colossal Bastille stone with Mirabeau's name highlighted in gold lettering to be placed on a corner of the street where he lived,[112] the proposal for the festival in honour of Marat, where a large cube, 'symbole de la solidité', inscribed 'Marat, l'ami et le représentant du peuple,' took centre stage,[113] or the song chanted at the festival of Liberty, frimaire year II (November-December 1793), a mock dialogue between France and Liberty, in which 'France' swore that: 'J'en ai juré le serment; Le dernier roi de la France; L'a cimenté de son sang.'[114] These existential concerns were conspicuously materialised in the atypical burlesque festivals which appeared outside of legislative intervention in the year II and again after Thermidor, featuring mock-executions, dressing-up and carnivalesque processions.[115] This was a ritual rhetoric discernible in images such as Sergent-Marceau's *Convoi de très haut et très puissant seigneur des abus* (Ill. 2.24). Indeed, it should be noted that such carnivalesque leanings had been naggingly persistent in proposals such as the 'funeral of aristocrats' which, as early as 1790, advocated a parodic procession of administrative papers suspended from pikes, shrouded in black, under the spare heading 'caisse d'escompte.'[116]

The pedagogical utility of images, the perceived supremacy of sight amongst the senses, accounted for the retention of some representation, although in the search for a 'detheatricalised' festival allegorical allusion was increasingly preferred to

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[111] L.Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984, p. 64.

[112] *Grand détail de toutes les rejouissances et cérémonies qui auront lieu demain, premier Mai, à l'occasion de l'Ouverture des Barrières, & de la liberté des Entries. Grande illumination de toutes les maisons de Paris. Bals et fêtes publiques données à tous les Citoyens, pour célébrer ce Beau Jour...*, Paris, n.d., p. 4.

[113] Cit. Gence, op. cit., p. 10.

[114] *Dialogue entre La France et la Liberté, Chanté par les Citoyens composant l'atelier de l'Imprimerie Nationale, à la fête de la Liberté, donnée par la section du Contrat-Social le 25 frimaire l'an second de la République une et indivisible*, Paris, 1793, p. 3.

[115] See: M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit., pp. 83-102.

[116] *Enterrement du despotisme, ou funérailles des aristocrates; seconde fête nationale, dédié a nos patriotes Bretons, et à tous les Soldats-Citoyens des Troupes de ligne et Gardes Nationales du Royaume, députés pour la Fédération*, Paris, 1790, p. 7.

mimicry and illusion.[117] In a post-Thermidorian climate hostile to the exaggerations of Jacobin festivals, which had also, of course, been explicitly pedagogical, one 'Docteur Dicaculus', warning in 1798 against the 'fausses idées établies dans quelques programmes', urged the organisers of festivals, with heavy irony, to 'Blanchir des palais, élever des colosses de plâtre, des obélisques de planches, des décorations de toiles, sublime emploi des arts!'[118] Typically, each regime derided the cluttered and morally dubious festivals of their predecessors, before instituting their own. For Benezech, it remained essential that teachers take part in festivals, marching at the head of their students, to ensure that the educative promise of the festival should not be overlooked and to guarantee 'que ces cérémonies ne seront plus de vaines *réprésentations.*'[119] This suspicion was nonetheless tempered by an awareness of the potential power of images, and Reveillière-Lépeaux, seeking to socialise festivals in relation to institutions of marriage and religion, still believed, in 1797, that the visual spectacle of the festival had an unequalled effect on the spectator, and that: 'c'est-là que les plus grands tableaux seront mis sous les yeux du citoyen; c'est dans ces grandes occasions que les sentimens les plus élevés et les élans les plus sublimes doivent frapper son imagination et son coeur.'[120]

Sculpture was considered the most appropriate form of representation for inclusion in a festival, with plaster the most common material for construction, a medial substance which whilst pliable and cheap, retained a certain degree of solidity and three-dimensionality – a compromise between the overt ephemerality of cardboard and paint, and the impracticable expense of bronze or marble. Likewise, stucco applied to canvas, and environmental characteristics such as trees, accommodated a nominal verisimilitude with minimal cost. Painting, on the other hand, was more problematic, as a medium which was both expensive and more readily associated with a deceptive, mediated illusionism. Even David, describing his elaborate itinerary for the festival of Reunion, decreed that each delegate should, in the climactic scene on the Champ de Mars, deposit 'les fruits de son travail, les

[117] M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit., 209-211.
[118] *Le Nouveau diable boiteaux, tableau philosophique et moral de Paris; Mémoires mis en lumière et enrichis de Notes par le Docteur DICACULUS, de Louvain*, Tome II, Paris, 1798, pp. 88-89.
[119] Benezech, op. cit., pp. 4-5. Original italics. Benezech continued, citing Boissy d'Anglas: 'mais qu'il faut arracher par l'instruction aux faux principes qui le changent et le dénaturent; elles dirigent vers un but louable cet esprit d'imitation qui est trop souvent celui de la multitude; elles parlent à l'ame le langage qu'elle entend le mieux, celui des sensations et des images' (p. 11.)

instrumens de son métier, ou de son art.'[121] For David: 'C'est ainsi qu'il se trouvera plus magnifiquement paré que par les emblèmes recherchés d'une futile et insignifiante peinture,'[122] a statement which contradicts his presentation of his own portraits of Republican martyrs in a processional context.

Certainly, similar objects and spaces reappeared time and again in festival scenarios, in part due to a consistent lack of money and partly in continuance of a tradition of public ritual which was inherited from the royalist decorators of the Menus-Plaisirs, and their re-use of scenery for a variety of pre-revolutionary ceremonies.[123] As a result we see the Federative altar in place for the festival for the victims of Nancy in 1790 (Ill. 2.25) and the Federations of 1791 and 1792. The mountain which dominated the festival of the Supreme Being was used again for the festival of Victory in 1794, whilst the lions at the Champ de Mars for the festival of Victory on 10 prairial year IV (29th May 1796) were used for funeral of Hoche on 10 vendémiaire year VI (1st October 1797). Burning torches at the cenotaph of Rousseau were the same as those placed around the statue of regeneration in the festival of Reunion, whilst ritual spaces such as the Champ de Mars and the Panthéon were repeatedly re-used as props, as was the funeral chariot designed by Cellerier, which appeared at the festival of the Swiss of Châteauvieux, as well as at several Panthéonisations.[124] The structures themselves were, for the most part, built or revised in workshops and quickly put together on site, for there was to be no repeat of the public enthusiasm which attended the fabrication of the Champ de Mars.

At the festival commemorating the Swiss of Châteauvieux on 15th April 1792, a giant statue of Liberty, supported by an antique chariot, dominated proceedings, its hands and face constructed of bronze-painted plaster, with a body made of wood,

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[120] L.-M.Reveillière-Lépeaux, *Réflexions sur le culte, sur les cérémonies civiles et sur les fêtes nationales*, Paris, 1797, p. 35.
[121] J.-L.David, *Ordre et marche de la fête de l'unité et de l'indivisibilité de la République, qui aura lieu le 10 août 1793, décrétée par la Convention nationale*, Paris, 1793, p. 7.
[122] J.-L.David, ibid., p. 7.
[123] Prior to the Revolution festivals had been organised at the Menus-Plaisirs in conjunction with the Administration de Bâtiments du Roi.
[124] See: O.Ramette, op. cit, p. 71.

covered with canvas (Ill. 2.26).[125] This model proved popular and reappeared in subsequent festivals, most notably the festival of the Supreme Being. Dupont de Nemours was less impressed with the design of the festival, whose artifice he found disturbingly similar to conventional religious ceremonies. In a letter to Jérome Pétion he argued that: 'Vous avez cru que pour tromper les parisiens, il suffisait de substituer au mot *purifier*, celui de *bruler des parfums*, et au lieu de l'indication de *tels bas-reliefs et de telles inscriptions*, l'annonce plus vague de *peintures*, de *sculptures, d'inscriptions*.'[126]

Clearly, clarification of terms was highly significant, becoming increasingly problematic when the material decoration of a festival was replicated in another medium, such as print. Where, in this mass of competing definitions, could one draw the line between architecture, sculpture, theatre and two-dimensional media? For instance, what is to prevent a consideration of the arch and altar adorning the festival of Federation, or the 'mountain' at the festival of the Supreme Being, as sculpture rather than architecture, given their overtly decorative use-value, their simulation of solid architectural or natural form in transient materials? In addition, what distinguishes these designs from the reduced-scale simulacra carried in procession at festivals, which acknowledged their deception more readily?

'To dissimulate[...]' according to Jean Baudrillard, '[...] is to pretend not to have what one has. To simulate is to feign to have what one doesn't have. One implies a presence, the other an absence.' Yet, he continues, simulation does not involve pretence, for whereas 'pretending, or dissimulating, leaves the principle of reality intact: the difference is always clear, it is simply masked [...] simulation threatens the difference between the "true" and the "false", the "real" and the "imaginary".'[127] 'Simulacra', a word recently revived in modern scholarship, had particular meaning in the eighteenth century, recontextualised in the Revolution in relation to festival culture. The *Encyclopédie* characterises it as an ancient word meaning an idol, image or representation, and connects its usage to idolatrous literature. Meanwhile,

[125] A.N.F[4]1968. See also: C.Langlois, 'L'Invention de la Liberté: le programme iconographique de la fête Parisienne des Suisses de Chateauvieux (15 avril 1792),' in: C.Hould and J.Leith eds., op. cit., p. 114.
[126] P.-S.Dupont de Nemours, *Lettre de M.duPont, a M.Petion*, Paris, 1792, p. 4. Original italics.
[127] J.Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. by Sheila Faria Glaser, Michigan, 1994, p. 3.

the act of simulation is described as 'fraudulous disguise',[128] that is, a form of disguise somehow more deceptive and insidious than mere dissimulation.

Mona Ozouf argues that the major significations of the word can be observed in contemporary dictionaries, where *simulacre* is either an image of a pagan deity, or a figural representation of an action.[129] Both of these understandings can be seen in the context of revolutionary festivals: busts of revolutionary martyrs or statues carried in procession, 'living statues' of Reason, and mock battles and theatricalised demonstrations of significant events. Ozouf claims that simulacra were conspicuous by their absence in the Federative festivals. Her hypothesis explaining the increased use of simulation as the Revolution progressed is that there existed a collective failure in memory which the simulacra aimed to resuscitate, unnecessary in the early years of Revolution in the context of the Federation's unequalled symbolic and emotional dynamism.[130]

Although revolutionaries appeared accustomed to making distinctions between different types of festival objects – their expertise in this regard is indicated by their concern about the role of representation – a consideration of the simulacral may prove useful for an understanding of how these objects functioned, particularly in relation to two-dimensional imagery. Whatever taxonomy we choose, it need not negate the status of festival edifices as simulacra, for the triumphal arch at the Federation *did* attempt to simulate a petrified classical ancestry, whilst the cloth-covered altar was painted to resemble marble, interspersed with trompe-l'oeils which transformed its actual materiality.[131] Although prints of the *journée des brouettes* spoil the illusion by dissecting the festival structures, prints of the festival itself make good this loss. As Ramette observes, 'par l'emploi du trompe-l'oeil, la fiction est parfaité: fausses architectures [...], fausses sculptures..., encore

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[128] D.Diderot and J. le R.d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Tome 15, Neufchastel [Geneva], p. 205-206.
[129] M.Ozouf, 'Le simulacre et la fête' in: J.Ehrard and P.Viallaneix eds., op. cit., p. 328. Some dictionaries also translate the word as 'ghost'. T.Nugent, *The New Pocket Dictionary of the French and English Languages*, London, 1793, p. 283.
[130] M.Ozouf, ibid., p. 341.
[131] As Baudrillard suggests, trompe-l'oeil has a particularly complex relationship to architecture, entangling taxonomical boundaries between disciplines: 'Trompe-l'oeil indiscriminately mixes all the disciplines and plays false with them all. Trompe-l'oeil at once ridicules architecture, is wedded to it, betrays it, emphasises its role and puts it out of circulation by making unbridled use of its techniques.' J.Baudrillard, 'The Trompe-l'Oeil' in: N.Bryson ed., *Calligram. Essays in New Art History from France*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 59.

améliorée par les rehauts colorés et les draperies de tout ce décor.' In an interesting use of terminology, she continues 'On utilise aussi du carton et des papiers huilés et colorés, appelés "transparents".'[132]

Contemporary spectators at revolutionary festivals may not have been wholeheartedly convinced by the material appearance of the spectacle, although they recognised complicitly its affinities with the theatrical, yet in their consumption of representations of festivals they bought into a validation of these effects as permanent monuments. In this regard, images of revolutionary festivals are theatricalised and illusionisitic to a greater degree than could be tolerated within the festival space. Stage scenery, which simulates the setting of an action in front of a stationary audience, offering 'in one and the same spectacle, a series of sites grafted on to the unchanging data of a frontal or oblique view,'[133] finds its resolution in two dimensions.

The profound ambivalence surrounding the material properties of festival constructions, their uneasy status on the cusp of the real, is I suggest, resolved in their printed representation. As Baudrillard contends, simulation achieves its most seductive potential when it drops a dimension, for three-dimensionality in the simulacrum renders us sensitive to the possibility of a 'fourth dimension', that is, of a hidden truth or meaning, as the closer the simulacra comes to perfection the more probable the chances of its collapse.[134] The fatal irony that a signifier of not just material, but political permanence was built with the knowledge of its eradication intact, is deflected by printed festivals in a manner which the objects of representation could not withstand. Furthermore:

> The end of the spectacle brings with it the collapse of reality into hyperrealism, the meticulous reproduction of the real, preferably through another reproductive medium [...] Through reproduction from one medium into another the real becomes volatile, it becomes the allegory of death, but it also draws strength from its own destruction, becoming the real for its own sake, a fetishism of the lost object which is no longer the object of representation [...].[135]

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[132] O.Ramette, op. cit., p. 64.
[133] M.Milman, *Trompe-l'Oeil Painted Architecture*, London, 1986, p. 67.
[134] J.Baudrillard, *Simulacra...*, op. cit., p. 107.
[135] J.Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, trans. by Ian Hamilton Grant, London, 1993, pp. 71-72.

In prints representing revolutionary festivals the illusion is made complete, for, in reproduction, the effects of the festival are reconstituted as more 'real' than they appeared during the event itself. Paradoxically, it is the simulated un-real environment of the print which makes real the existence of events and objects which actually occurred, however briefly; the medium of print, based on a de-differentiating monochromy, conserving the festival as a stylised monument.

Perspectives

> The surest, and often the only, way by which a crowd can preserve itself lies in the existence of a second crowd to which it is related [...] the sight, or simply the powerful image, of the second crowd, prevents the disintegration of the first.[136]

Representations of the festival of Federation were in 1789 and 1790, alongside images of the storming of the Bastille, the most popular subject for printed images of a narrative nature.[137] A prospectus for a large print of the Federation, designed by Dugourc and printed at Didot le jeune explained the popularity of this subject in print, whose ability to circulate information was considered especially suited to this subject:

> La Peinture s'empressera, sans doute, d'imortaliser cet événement mémorable; mais la Gravure seule a le précieux avantage de se multiplier assez, pour que tous les hommes puissent en jouir.[138]

Paintings of the Federation did appear some time after the event, such as Thévenin's version of 1795 (Ill. 2.27), whose unusual diagonal perspective may have been adapted from a print by Monnet and Helman (Ill. 2.28). Other artists, such as Demachy (Ill. 2.29) or Hubert Robert (Ill. 2.30) conceived more original representations, but in idioms derived from their pre-revolutionary specialisms,

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[136] E.Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, trans. by Carol Stewart, London, 2000, p. 63.

[137] L.Hunt, 'Engraving the Republic: Prints and Propaganda in the French Revolution,' *History Today*, vol. 30, October 1980, p. 14. Between 1791 and 1792 the general focus shifted in turn to satires of the monarchy and the clergy, and between 1793 and 1794 to representations of the Republic, in which festivals again played a major role. Representations of the festival of Federation were among the most popular subjects for prints exhibited at the 1791 salon, becoming a commonplace of practically every print history of the Revolution produced during the 1790s.

[138] *Fédération des Français dans la capitale d'Empire, le 14 juillet 1790, jour anniversaire de la Révolution; Estampe de trois pieds de long sur deux de haut, dédiée à la France, et spécialement a la ville de Paris, pour avoir donné l'idée de cette réunion. Prospectus*, Paris, 1790, p. 2.

Robert contributing a representation of the Federative arena which depicts Cellerier's arch as an archaic, ivy-encrusted monument.[139] The emulation, or transference across media was not one-directional, as according to the author of the above prospectus, the size of the print, three foot by two foot, larger than many paintings, was necessary 'pour rendre avec précision la multiplicité des détails, l'immensité du local, et plus encore pour répondre à la majesté du sujet.'[140] The print was sold for one louis to French customers and thirty-six livres to foreigners, indicating the wide European spread of these images,[141] whilst Dugourc, an artist famous for his playing-card designs, claimed to be able to produce the image within the year, rather than the two it would normally take to design and print an image of this size.[142]

For customers who required even more detail of the Federation, Didot aimed to publish and sell, for nine livres, a supplementary quarto volume containing the following: engravings of the plans, elevations and details of the festival decoration; a transcript of the *procès-verbal* of the ceremony; a list of leaders of the National Assembly, up to and including the 14th July; a list of Representatives; a table of deputies to the Federation, their names, positions and qualities in order of department; finally the names of the deputies from the army and other related bodies. Subscribers to the print found amongst the lists of participants in the festival would receive an asterisk next to their name, a device which clearly linked the print to the accompanying information, and included the owner of the print in the symbolic community of the Federation by their projected co-ownership of the same commodity as the chosen representatives and archetypes of this paradigmatic political and social event.[143]

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[139]Robert had focussed on images of decaying or incomplete architecture, which he adapated to many revolutionary subjects, including the *Journeée des brouettes*, whilst the painter Demachy had produced several images of royal festivities and was known as a specialist in crowd scenes. In another prominent instance, Swebach-Desfontaines had specialised in the representation of military gatherings and troops.

[140] *Fédération des Français...*, op. cit., p. 3.

[141] Peter Jones records evidence of a print of the Federation in the inventory of a British revolutionary sympathiser, demonstrating the European diffusion of such images. P.Jones, ' "England Expects...": Trading in Liberty in the Age of Trafalgar' in: M.Crook, W.Doyle and A.Forrest eds., *Enlightenment and Revolution: Essays in Honour of Norman Hampson*, Aldershot, 2004, p. 189.

[142] *Féderation des Français...*, op. cit., p. 4.

[143] *Fédération des Français...*, ibid., p. 5.

Chief amongst the enticements to buyers of such prints was a wealth of detail, a multiplicity of viewpoint which encompassed the many different site-specific appraisals of the festival. 'Il n'est pas possible de se faire une juste idée de la superbe perspective qui se présente à moi du haut de l'amphithéâtre où je suis placé'[144] wrote one onlooker. 'Il est impossible de ne pas revenir sur les scenes multipliées qu'offre le tableau mouvant du Champ-de-Mars'[145] exclaimed another, presumably aware of the dual meanings of a 'tableau mouvant'.

Allegories, such as that advertised on the front page of *Le Moniteur*, three days after the festival, could easily be associated with the Federation and could be re-worked from pre-existing models, avoiding the need for any direct reference whilst effecting a facade of contemporaneity.[146] In addition, prints such as *La Nation Française assistée par M. De Lafayette terrasse le Despotisme* (Ill. 2.31) involve the appropriate references to soldiers, an altar and Lafayette, whilst giving little indication that the image resulted from direct observation.

Nevertheless, the largest market appears to have been for the topographical or historical print – the self-proclaimed eye-witness account. In a footnote to yet another description of the festival, complete with printed map, the author is exonerated for his inability to provide a totalising account, made impossible by the site-specificity and immediacy of his transcription. In this literary appropriation of a 'popular' experience, the editor admits that:

> Il doit y avoir beaucoup de répétitions et de négligences dans ce petit ouvrage, qui a été fait très-précipitamment, et qui n'étoit pas destiné à l'impression, mais les devoirs de l'auteur ne le laissent pas mettre de son temps, et il peut dire avec *Gresset* qu'il est *trop occupé pour corriger.*'[147]

Likewise, prints of the festival, although often of a high quality, prized a certain spectatorial pretension in the artist above all other effects, although it is likely that

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[144] *Anniversaire, ou Journal de ce qui s'est passé pendant la semaine de la confédération ... depuis le 11 jusqu'au 18 juillet*, Paris, 1790, p. 19.
[145] *Confédération nationale*, (1790), op. cit., p. 65.
[146] *Le Moniteur*, no. 198, Saturday 17th July 1790, p. 1. Advertises engraving titled *Le patriotisme armé protégera la liberté légale*, a print 'en médaillon relative à la confédération', sold by Jolly for 24 sous.
[147] *Anniversaire...*, op. cit., pvii

many artists did indeed attend the ceremony. Contrasting with the concentration on focal events seen in paintings such as the anonymous *Serment de La Fayette à la fête de la Fédération* (Ill. 2.32), most of these prints attempted a sweeping aerial perspective intended to give a sense of the whole, though in many cases, particularly more basic prints (Ill. 2.33), the size of the crowd had to be reduced in order for details to be visible.

Formally, images of the Federation drew from a wide variety of sources and printmaking experiences, a heterogeneous influx which nevertheless yielded surprisingly similar outcomes. Standardisation, the consequence of piracy in emulation of successful market forms, and the desire to present a unified idea of commemoration, results in many images of the Federation appearing, at first glance, similar. These images are a commemoration of a commemoration, and as Ozouf writes regarding the 1989 bicentennial, '[...] every commemoration draws its life from the obsessive affirmation of sameness.'[148]

Yet these representations, though often apparently alike, and generally bearing a spare, descriptive title, should not, I argue, be considered in the singular. Furthermore, these images cannot be assigned a static position in the artistic hierarchy, their variance in quality, price and media negating accusations of similitude. Printed representations of the festival of Federation accentuate and encourage multiplicity, presenting it from every conceivable angle: we see the festival from either side (Ill. 2.34), either end (Ill. 2.35), diagonally (Ill. 2.36), above, in ground-plan and from a variety of degrees of elevation (Ill. 2.37). However, whilst each image is monolithic in itself, viewed as a corpus they create a narrative from a stationary instant. Individually each representation presents little independent narrative action beyond the immobile event immediately represented; together, in the context of their mass-reproduction and circulation, they function almost 'cinematically', like a slow-motion flick-book, offering an image of simultaneity by which the viewer can understand the movement necessary to the festival, and the multiplicity of individual engagement. By creating the effect that each image is at once similar, yet perceptibly different, the viewer pieces together a narrative which reflects as a metaphor for the unification of the National Federation

from different regional Federations. This simultaneity in representation allows for the visual preservation of the most transient, yet most important feature of the festival; the spectators and participants in the Federative oath, whose communality is memorialised via stagial reproduction. The representation of every stage in the construction of the festival space, the arrival of *fédérés* in Paris, their reception upon their return, and the subsequent fireworks and illuminations, enhances this motif, for such events were not part of the official 'event', though through their representation they were included as such in the emplotment of the festival's mythology.

In Cloquet and Le François's engraving *Vue générale de la Fédération Française* (Ill. 2.38) there is explicit simultaneous reference to another form of conceptualising the festival space, mediated through a reflexive commemoration of the very print culture within which this image was itself produced. This vertiginous aerial view of the Champ de Mars features two allegorical figures in the top left hand corner, clad in red, white and blue. One, representing union, is, like the new order itself, young and innocent, carrying a fasces topped with a bonnet rouge. The other, representing fame, blows a trumpet, from which hangs a ground-plan of the Champ de Mars similar to that adapted from architectural plans and popularised in printed souvenir maps of the arena (Ill. 2.39).

These maps, which stare back at us like large schematised eyes, themselves often contained views and elevations of the festival and its structures in subdivided boxes with lengthy explanations of the inscriptions and oaths.[149] Within the festival itself, textual exegesis had been subordinate to representation, offering complementary explanation of a consummately visual event whose primary schema was of clarity. The arch and altar were inscribed with revolutionary axioms (in vernacular French rather than Latin), whilst at the moment of the oath banners displaying the text of the various declarations are alleged to have been held aloft for spectators to see,[150] although views were, naturally, restricted. In the souvenir print the viewer could

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[148] M.Ozouf quoted in S.Kaplan, *Farewell Revolution. Disputed Legacies, France 1789-1989*, Ithaca and London, 1995, p. 19.

[149] Michel Vovelle has pointed out the pedagogic emphasis of maps of the Federation. M.Vovelle, *La Révolution française: images et récit*, vol. 1, pp. 121-123.

[150] I thank M.Phillippe de Carbonnières, curator of revolutionary material at the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, for this information.

attempt to make good this loss via a series of stills and close-ups. No single image, it seems, could represent the festival in its entirety. The Federative image has no 'true copy', rather, it is an aggregate of competing viewpoints, meanings and references which appeared appropriate to an event at which three-quarters of the crowd would not have been able to see Lafayette's definitive oath,[151] and at which each participant was involved in a personal experiential narrative of the event alongside the master-narrative of collective similarity. As Ramette observes, such an individualism is intrinsic to the 'pointilliste' character of the revolutionary festival, for:

> par le recours à l'abstraction, par un certain laconisme, par une sorte de symbolisme 'en pointillé' qui permet à chaque spectateur de recréer sa propre fête, donc d'y participier pleinement, on parvient à une sorte d'effacement de l'événement, à une intemporalisation de la fête.[152]

I would like to present a reading of these images as dialogic, that is, as essentially 'argumentative',[153] dependent on and participating in a juxtapositional matrix of meanings, understandings and value judgements. That which has been dialogised is unable to offer absolute authoritative interpretation as it is relativised and aware of competing definitions. This may seem erroneous in the context of a festival whose entire meaning rested on an affectation of unity, concord and history, yet I suggest that an image such as Cloquet's demonstrates how such an affect could only be achieved in representation through dialogue between the festival's component parts.

Representations of revolutionary festivals accord to what Mikhail Bakhtin, in a vocabulary adopted from the natural sciences and applied to the development of the novel, termed 'chronotopes'. Literally a 'space-time', in which both dimensions retain equal significance, in the fictional-artistic chronotope '[t]ime, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history.'[154] Furthermore, 'the image of man', explicitly referred to in the festival's claim to

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[151] J.Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, Ithaca and London, 2001, p. 85.
[152] O.Ramette, op. cit., p. 36.
[153] M.M.Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin, 1981.
[154] M.M.Bakhtin, ibid., p. 84. Bakhtin cites the parlour or salon in the nineteenth-century novel as a typical chronotope, 'where dialogues happen' (p. 246).

represent the body of the French people, '[...] is always intrinsically chronotopic.'[155] Representing the Federation required that artists confront the visual problematic of creating a stable image of a transient and mobile event. Neither the bird's-eye view of the arena nor the map, whilst both offering an image of simultaneity, could fully 'explain' the festival's spatial multiplicity. Likewise, the temporal allusions provoked by the allegories of union (the present) and fame (the past and future) were not satisfied within a single figure. To create total vision, or at least to symbolically aspire to it, only a combination of an aerial perspective and, as in Cloquet's print, other images and other times could begin to piece together the meaning of the festival, to figure it as a medium of memory.

One of the primary symbolic attributes of the structures prepared for revolutionary festivals was an insistent verticality – in the form of mountains, altars, obelisks, trees and columns – to counteract the horizontality of the procession. The aspirational aspect of this axis was echoed in the aerial perspective common to prints of the Federation. If the people atop the Federative arch were symbolic embodiments of spectatorship, seeing in the place of all those who could not, then prints of the Federation permitted a complete visual knowledge of the event. Roland Barthes, in a meditation on a more enduring temporary structure, the Eiffel Tower, built at the head of the Champ de Mars on the exact site of Cellerier's arch, put the following question:

> What, in fact, is a panorama? An image we attempt to decipher, in which we try to recognize known sites, to identify landmarks. [...] in a sense, that is what intelligence is: to *reconstitute*, to make memory and sensation co-operate so as to produce in your mind a simulacrum of Paris.[156]

Barthes's statement applies as much to artist-as-spectator as it does to the viewer of the completed panorama, suggesting a struggle for meaning, for *reconstitution*, all too apparent in both verbal descriptions of the Federation and in artists' attempts to articulate the festive chronotope. As he continues:

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[155] M.M.Bakhtin, ibid., p. 85.
[156] R.Barthes, 'The Eiffel Tower' in: N.Leach ed., *Rethinking Architecture: A reader in cultural theory*, London and New York, 1996, p. 176.

> Hence we approach the complex, dialectical nature of all panoramic vision; on the one hand, it is a euphoric vision, for it can slide slowly, lightly the entire length of a continuous image of Paris, and initially no 'accident' manages to interrupt this great layer of mineral and vegetal strata, perceived in the distance in the bliss of altitude; but, on the other hand, this very continuity engages the mind in a certain struggle, it seeks to be deciphered, we must find *signs* within it, a familiarity proceeding from history and from myth. This is why a panorama can never be consumed as a work of art, the aesthetic interest of painting ceasing once we try to *recognize* in it a particular point derived from our knowledge [...] the quite intellectual effort of the eye before an object which requires to be divided up, identified, reattached to memory [...]. This generally intellectual character of the panoramic vision is further attested by the following phenomenon, which Hugo and Michelet had moreover made into the mainspring of their bird's-eye views: to perceive Paris from above is infallibly to imagine a history [...] it is duration itself that becomes panoramic.[157]

For Barthes, the panorama ultimately frustrates the viewer. Becoming, like trompe-l'oeil, a form of representation which prioritises the act of spectatorship over subject matter, the panorama does not, however, abandon its subject. Rather, the panorama is invoked in the representation of the Federation as an allegory of the festival's own visuality, operating in dialogue with, not against it. In addition, the panoramic aspect of Federative images anticipates the commodification of the panorama in the early nineteenth-century as a chronotope allowing a reflection upon city, self and history. The panoramic view provided a perspective with which no earth-bound spectator at the festival, even those watching from a distance from the hills of Chaillot, would have been familiar. The conceit of some bird's-eye images of the Federation which allow a branch of foliage to intrude across the side of the picture frame, as if partially obstructing the spectator's view, is an effect which tricks the eye, providing a recognisable reference against which the spectator can situate themselves.

On the 20th July 1790, a formal military celebration was held to conclude the Federation at the Champ de Mars, an event at which an aerostatic demonstration was to provide the centrepoint. Unfortunately, the balloon caught fire before take-off, adding an element of humour to an otherwise morose affair. Balloon disasters had been, as much as successful flights, a popular subject for prints prior to the Revolution (Ill. 2.40). Despite this setback, balloon flights became an established

[157] R.Barthes, ibid., p. 176.

part of festival itineraries, embodying the unrestrained and transparent vision which the rest of the festival could never truly achieve. Furthermore, aerostatic festivals created a harmonious simultaneity from the otherwise fragmented procession and oath, which could not be viewed in its entirety by participants. Marie Thébaud-Sorger has documented how early balloon flights used optical equipment more for orientation than observation, reporting that observation from a balloon was frowned upon, as concentration was required by all to make the balloon stay airborne.[158] In effect, balloon travel was under the strict control of a commission created by the Académie Royale des Sciences, and their use was reserved, until the nineteenth-century, for scientists or the military.

If, as seems likely, artists were not encouraged to take part in these flights, we should not assume that the ceremonial prominence of an aerial perspective lacked significance. Of course, few participants in festivals actually saw the festival in this unmediated form, yet the presence of balloons provoked an imaginative visualisation of aerial space which was, in the manner described by Barthes, reconstituted by artists into printed images at once miniature and gigantic, which could serve as sites for the decipherment of meaning and the constitution of a uniquely 'revolutionary' history. Perspective is, of course, uniquely suited to the formulation of spectatorial identities, assuming as it does a unique spectator who is constituted in relation to the image's irrevocable vanishing point. Furthermore, 'the enlargement of a snapshot' as Benjamin reminds us, 'does not simply render more precise what in any case was visible, though unclear: it reveals entirely new structural formations of the subject.'[159]

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[158] M.Thébaud-Sorger, 'Les premiers ballons et la conquête du ciel. Les dimensions d'une découverte,' *Dix-huitième siècle*, no. 31, 1999, pp. 161-162.
[159] W.Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in: W.Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. by Harry Zohn, London, 1992, pp. 229-230. See also: S.Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Durham and London, 1993, pp. 70-103.

The repeated calls for the relaxation of laws restricting the free movement of individuals which began to gain momentum in 1790, were embodied in the form of the travelling *fédéré*.[160] As Edgar Quinet observed:

> Those who had seen the old France, bristling with obstacles at every step, were astonished to see that all the barriers were down. With old-fashioned naivety, they entered Paris as they would a holy town.[161]

This is a point re-iterated by Ozouf, who argues that:

> the most important symbol [of the Federation] was France itself, crisscrossed from end to end by participants in search of a spectacle or a role and by people rushing up to see them pass, exchanging questions and answers.[162]

Certainly, dialogue and free movement were considered essential to the success of the festival, although as Linguet, wise to the latent dangers of the crowd, pointed out, this had to be strictly controlled.[163] At an early stage in the planning of the Federation, it was decided that no tickets were required for entry to the Champ de Mars, and all those already distributed were invalidated, an inclusive measure which was rescinded for later festivals (Ill. 2.41).[164] Nevertheless, the pilgrimage of individuals to the Federation was paralleled by the feverish circulation of images and other devotional mementos, as print publishers sought to cash in on the piety of an audience unprecedented since the decline in production of religious imagery engendered by the Revolution. In the festival arena all France was to be seen celebrating unified allegiance to the Nation, the Law and the King,[165] a model of transparent political fidelity enacted through a ritual schema dominated by the twin devices of procession and oath. By this means previously disparate clusters could be reconstituted, in Lévi-Strauss's formula 'one ideally merging with the person of

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[160] See my chapter three, p. 164.
[161] E.Quinet, *La Révolution* [1865] quoted in: M.Ozouf, 'The Festival in the French Revolution' in: J.LeGoff and P.Nora eds., *Constructing the French Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, trans. by David Denby, Cambridge, 1985, p. 196, n9.
[162] M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit., p. 55.
[163] Linguet, *Adresse au Peuple Français; concernant ce qu'il faut faire & ce qu'il ne faut pas faire; pour célébrer la fête mémorable & Nationale, du 14 juillet 1790. Et sur-tout la nécessité de n'y admettre aucun cheval*, Paris, 1790, p. 18.
[164] V.-N.Jouffre, 'Le chantier national...', op. cit., p. 50.
[165] Oath taken by the National Assembly and the representatives of the National Guard: 'Nous jurons d'être à jamais fidèles à la Nation, à la Loi et au Roi [...]'. *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale, du mecredi 14 juillet 1790, Tome 25*, Paris, 1790, p. 5.

the officiant and the other with the collectivity of the faithful.'[166] The secularised religiosity of the occasion was noted by contemporary commentators. *Le Moniteur* of 16th July recognised 'Quel religieux sentiment domine cette multitude immense!'[167] whilst the *procès-verbal* of the National Assembly recorded that it was 'au milieu d'un silence profond et religieux que l'Assemblée Nationale et le peuple François ont reçu le serment de leur Roi.'[168] Even Desmoulins, though greatly underwhelmed by much of the Federation, acknowledged the degree to which the toil of free citizens in the creation of the Champ de Mars consecrated the space in which the festival took place as 'un monument religieux.'[169]

That the festival was experienced in religious terms is without doubt, yet the transformativity of the mass given by Talleyrand on the *autel de la patrie* was not limited to a political reconstitution within the temporal confines of the festival. A transubstantive operation took place, coincident with, yet outside the festival as enacted, which consecrated the transient body of participants in the festive oath within a different material form, print culture negating the cyclical-historical nature of the ritual through an all-year round commemoration, and functioning as something of a 'visual oath' to parallel the events of the day itself. Surviving the festival itself, these 'visual oaths' prevented the participant in the image from reneging on the Revolution, whilst prophesying a repetition of the present in the future. Offering an opportunity to safeguard the 'life' of the event; the image ossifies it in myth and petrifies submission to duty within iconic simulation of the transient episode.

In this respect Federative images share similarities with Confraternity prints, which, distributed free of charge to members prior to the Revolution on an annual basis and produced in large runs, served to perpetuate the processional of the feast day

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[166] C.Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, translated from French, London, 1966, p. 32.
[167] *Le Moniteur*, No. 197, 16 juillet 1790,Tome 5, p. 130.
[168] *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale, du mecredi 14 juillet 1790. Tome 25*, Paris, 1790. Recent scholarship has dwelt heavily upon this aspect of the Federative ceremonial. François Furet has commented upon the degree to which 'avec la Révolution Française, le religieux est absorbé par le politique' whilst Mona Ozouf submits a powerful argument that all revolutionary festivals, despite apparent differences, are united in their desire to create a secularised faith in the absence of previous models of allegiance. F.Furet, *La Révolution en débat*, Paris, 1999, p. 73 and M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit.
[169] C.Desmoulins, *Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, No. 34, 14th July 1790, pp. 457-458

associated with a particular Confraternity (Ill. 2.42).[170] The Committee of the National Guard in Lille appeared to have had the conjunction of Saint's day and civic self-identification in mind when they arranged for their Federative celebrations to take place on 6th June 1790, the day of the solemn procession of Notre-Dame de la Treille and the local patronal festival.[171] There are echoes of Confraternity imagery in Federation prints such as that featuring, down the sides, in the place of saintly likenesses, portraits of the great men Lafayette, Lameth, Sièyes, Bailly, Thouret and Camus, a bird's-eye view of the Federation in the centre and, at the base, the calendar common to devotional imagery of this kind (Ill. 2.43). Images of later Parisian festivals, for instance the 1791 translation of Voltaire's remains to the Panthéon (Ill. 2.44), in which one of Palloy's Bastille relics is clearly visible, appear to have directly quoted the serpentine method of representing the cortège seen in many Confraternity prints, which contrasts with the horizontality common to many festival images.

Fédérés from around the country, who had made what was to be in many cases the greatest journey of their lives, were presented with a medal (Ill. 2.45) and a certificate by the municipality of Paris, to confirm their presence at the ceremony. The restricted scale of these medals demanded a visual economy which forced a concentration upon either the procession through the triumphal arch, or on the Federative oath.[172] These were supplemented by a range of advice literature and bought souvenirs, amongst them prints, which had been quickly produced for sale from the moment that a Federative festival had been announced, perhaps the 'souvenirs les plus flatteurs' described in one popular song.[173] Ozouf remarks that these memory-objects returned with their bearers to their towns of origin, where, in an interesting use of 'ephemera' as a guarantee against transience they were paraded

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[170] See: G.-H.Rivière and J.Adhémar eds., *French Popular Imagery: Five Centuries of Prints* exh. cat., Hayward Gallery, London, 1974; *Images de Confréries (Paris et Ile de France) de la collection de M Louis Ferrand* exh. cat., Paris, 1992 and Abbé J.Gaston ed., *Les Images des Confréries Parisiennes avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1909.

[171] O.Lesaffre-Ramette, op. cit., p. 790.

[172] See: J.-C.Benzaken, 'Iconographie des monnaies et médailles de la Fédération, mai 1790-juillet 1791' in: M.Vovelle ed., *L'Image de la Révolution Française*, vol. 1, Paris, 1989, pp. 277-286.

[173] 'Adieu les jeux, adieu les ris; mes frères nous quittons Paris; C'est ce qui nous désole; mais nous emportons, dans nos coeurs; Les souvenirs les plus flatteurs', *Adieux des Fédérés a leurs frères les citoyens de Paris, sur l'air: C'est ce qui nous désole*, Paris, 1790, p. 1. For an example of advice literature see: *Avis aux confédérés des LXXXIII departemens sur les avantages et les dangers du séjour à Paris*, Paris, 1790, which purported to be by the hand of Rétif de la Bretonne.

as precious relics in subsequent processions, 'thus giving authenticity to the extraordinary adventure and salvaging it from the ephemeral.'[174]

In contrast to representations of the Federation, images of later festivals employed a miniaturisation and compartmentalisation of events which avoids the totalising pretensions of aerial perspective in favour of a distinctly souvenir-like separation of key episodes. Instead of extolling the complete panorama presented by the Federation, now, as one anonymous author described 'Nous passons une infinité de détails qui produiront beaucoup d'événemens interessans.'[175] David's complicated itinerary for the festival of the Unity and Indivisibility of the Republic of 10th August 1793 was widely circulated, for the festival no doubt required some decoding. In this text David placed as much emphasis on the order and content of the procession as on the structures, most notably the giant, multi-breasted Goddess of Nature adorning the Place de la Bastille, expressing regenerative water which each member of the National Convention was solemnly to drink (Ill. 2.46). The quasi-religious 'stations' which structured the festival placed the main emphasis on the festival cortège, an aspect reflected in print culture, such as one print which represented the primary edifice erected at each station in a distinct circular roundel, conflating in one image a narrative sequence more commonly spread across several prints (Ill. 2.47).

A fête worse than death: the festival after representation

The prejudice against the use of images in festival programmes amplified after 9 Thermidor, finding a somewhat sterile conclusion in the frequent, and explicitly pedagogical festivals of the Directoire period. Although these festivals were dutifully represented in visual chronicles such as the *Tableaux historiques* (Ill. 2.48), their consensus-led sporting activities and exclusion of artifice ensured that there was not really that much, in the end, worth showing.

Nevertheless, despite the polarisation of the major festivals of Robespierre's regime as a 'hell' to counter the Republican 'heaven' which they had themselves promoted,

[174] M.Ozouf, *Festivals...*, op. cit., p. 57.
[175] *Grand détail...*, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

images such as Taunay's parodic *Triumph of the Guillotine* (Ill. 2.49),[176] obscured the extent to which these festivals had already begun to repress representation in favour of a more censorious model of spectatorship. The festival of the Supreme Being of 20 prairial year II (8th June 1794) was intended to be the first of a new generation of revolutionary festivals, inaugurating a festival schedule appropriate to a consolidated Revolution which would soon no longer require the political manipulation of Terror. Consequently, the calendar attached to the base of one anonymous colour etching, sold by Basset, anticipates and manipulates a future punctuated by repetitions of this happy event (Ill. 2.50). This renders somewhat problematic teleological characterisations of the Supreme Being as the last great revolutionary festival, primed for negative comparison with the Federation as if quotation marks at either end of the Revolution.

The festival, organised by David, was an intricate and solemn affair which allowed little rein to the 'spontaneity' eulogised so frequently, yet hardly ever achieved. The Marquis de Sade, predictably, was horrified by the humourless posturing of Robespierre and his cohorts in the Convention:

> Vous imaginez que je suis beaucoup de choses, mais certainement pas un animal à sang froid. Or voici venir l'époque du sang abstrait, rigidifié et frigide. La fable chrétienne était absurde, soit, mais elle permettait parfois les élans voluptueux. Que voit-on se former maintenant? Des corps pincés, désaffectés, désinfectés, hygiéniques, régulièrement tronçonnés sans le moindre signe de lubricité apparente.[177]

Despite de Sade's ineffective outbursts from prison, anticipating a quasi-Fascist, proto-Foucauldian world of enforced 'hygiene', it is striking how theatrical the festival of the Supreme Being appears in contrast to the dour military processions of 1790, whilst its representation, given the short period of time within which images of it could proliferate, is amongst the most striking, if problematic of all revolutionary celebrations. Unlike, for instance, images of the Federation, Supreme Being images do not attempt a topography of Paris which relates the festival to its

[176] E.Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*, New Haven and London, 1999, p. 26. This painting uses the motif of the mountain featured in the festival of the Supreme Being as the platform for a guillotine. Note David, armed with an easel, descending into hell from the top-right corner.
[177] P.Sollers ed., *Sade contre l'Être Suprême*, Paris, 1992 [1793], pp. 14-15.

placement in the city, rejecting wholesale the birds-eye view. On the contrary, the intensified narrative action of the event forces a closely framed concentration on the central action of the festival, and in doing so, on its materiality. Only in rare images produced after Thermidor, such as Duplessi-Bertaux's determinedly anti-spectacular version (Ill. 2.51), published in 1802, did images of this festival depart from the particular. This image represented, in the place of the dramatic structures on the Champ de Mars, a dispersed and un-differentiated crowd on the steps of the Tuileries.

The true centrepiece of the festival was a large wood and plaster mountain, built on the site of the autel de la patrie, which since 10th August 1793 had featured a doric column topped by a statue representing the French people. The geometric form of the frame which had supported the original altar, so clearly revealed in prints of the *journée des brouettes*, was almost entirely hidden, although many of the original steps were left partly exposed. These were landscaped to resemble rock, and accommodated members of the Convention, whilst a further platform made room for robed musicians playing patriotic hymns. The spiral path which ascended up this vertical axis may have suggested formal associations with the spiral iconography of Jacob's Ladder, prominent within masonic symbolism. In reality the upper platform of the mountain, where Robespierre was to take his oath, was slightly less high than the column, although the scale of the mountain, in images such as Naudet's drawing (Ill. 2.52), is exaggerated to appear much bigger. During the festival ceremony, sculptures representing Egoism, Atheism and, improbably, Nothingness were symbolically burnt (Ill. 2.53), although as its largely unsympathetic commentators rejoiced in pointing out, the fire failed fully to consume these objects, leaving a charred, smoking, but still recognisable residue.[178] The mountain lasted relatively intact throughout year III, but seems to have disappeared at some point in year IV,[179] as did the Herculean statue and its supporting column.[180]

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[178] The drapery on the statue of Atheism, set alight by Robespierre, had been treated by the 'artificier' Ruggieri to make it burn. See bill for services in: A.N. F^4 2090, paid one year after the event.

[179] *La Révolution française et l'Europe, 1789-1799*, exh. cat., vol III, Paris, 1989, p. 728.

[180] L.Hunt, *Politics...*, op. cit., p. 112. Hunt observes how this statue appears in engravings of the festival of Victory in October 1794, although, following Bronislaw Baczko, she recognises that engravers effaced the provisional aspect of temporary sculptures, and that in representation they often appeared to be made from marble. B.Baczko, *Lumières de l'Utopie*, Paris, 1976, pp. 361-362.

In keeping with Robespierre's claim that 'L'homme est le plus grand objet qui soit dans la nature; et le plus magnifique de tous les spectacles c'est celui d'un grand peuple assemblé,'[181] representations of this festival individualise crowd participation to a greater degree than has been previously seen. Apart from, possibly, festivals of youth or of age, which gave precedence to a familial, and therefore particularised characterisation, often transplanted to a rural setting (Ill. 2.54), the majority of representations of festivals abstract individualisation to a more generalised crowd effect.

Here, perhaps, lies a clue to the transition effected upon festival representation in year II. Perhaps in keeping with the general decrease in public enthusiasm for festivals, images of these events were increasingly produced in high-cultural forms which contrasted with the broadsheets and popular prints characteristic of earlier festivals. Sèvres porcelain decorated with pastoral representations of the Supreme Being, and Demachy's painted version of the festival (Ill. 2.55) both catered to an audience distinct from the diverse markets which consumed images of the Federation. Although there were of course many high-quality representations of the Federation, they were tempered by a vast body of cheaper, often more schematised imagery. This kind of demotic popular imagery, produced soon after the event, was, in the summer of 1794, conspicuous by its absence. The suspicion of representation which attended Jacobin festivals, the fear that their educational message would be distorted by replication on the stage and in print, ultimately reduced the agency of representations of festivals to mere exaggeration.[182] In many ways, the failure of the festival of the Supreme Being was the failure of its representation, and of its ability to certify its participants as members of the revolutionary community. As we shall see, such a certification was increasingly achieved by alternative means.

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The festival planned by David for the Panthéonisation of Bara and Viala, the child-martyrs killed fighting in the Vendée, was never realised in Paris, and consequently,

[181] M.Robespierre, op. cit., p. 32.
[182] Theatrical replications of the festival of the Supreme Being were banned by the Committee of Public Safety. *Le Moniteur*, no. 297, 27 messidor an II (15th July 1794), p. 210.

never represented.[183] David had planned an emulative, educational spectacle which would serve to convince witnesses, especially children, that 'Les français sont tous des Barras et des Vialas,'[184] but was thwarted by the coup of 9 Thermidor year II (27th July 1794) which terminated the Jacobin régime and its forthcoming festivals. In couplets written in anticipation of the festival, the archivist Ducroisi, head of the bureau of *procès-verbaux* at the National Convention, asked, admiringly:

> Qui de nous, lisant l'histoire
> De ce Héros de quinze ans,
> Ne sera forcé de croire
> Qu'en France il n'est plus d'enfans?[185]

At the moment when the remains of the martyrs were to enter the Panthéon, David had decreed that: 'tout change; la douleur disparoît; l'alégresse publique la remplace; & le peuple par trois fois fait entendre ce cri: *Ils sont immmortels! Ils sont immortels! Ils sont immortels!*'[186] In these pleas for immortality, for institution in the archive, we may perhaps read a parallel history of the festival, one which cut across political differences. Benezech and Gence, despite their convergent views on the role of representation in the festival, agreed on the importance of making the festival time-space a site for the commemoration of great deeds. 'Il serait bon de joindre à ces prix d'autres récompenses purement honorifiques. Les vainqueurs, par exemple, s'assiéraient, le jour de leur triomphe, au milieu des Magistrats'[187] wrote Benezech. 'Il faudroit présenter, comme un tableau mouvant, le long de la marche du cortège, l'ensemble des principales circonstances de la vie de l'homme célèbre'[188] suggested Gence.

In keeping with this discourse, at the festival of Hospitality, organised in honour of the Liègeois victims of Dumouriez's treason, the archives of the municipality of

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[183] On the organisation of this festival see: D.L.Dowd, 'Art and the Theater during the French Revolution: The Role of Louis David', *Art Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1, Spring 1960, pp. 10-11. On the myth of Bara in relation to David's portrait see: H.Weston, 'Jacques-Louis David's *La Mort de Joseph Bara*: A Tale of Revolutionary Myths and Modern Fantasies', *Paragraph*, vol. 19, no. 3, November 1996, pp. 234-250. A comprehensive account of the image and its attendant myths is also provided in: M.-P.Foissy-Aufrère, J.-C.Martin, R.Michel, E.Pommier, and M.Vovelle eds., *La Mort de Bara*, exh. cat., Musée Calvet, Avignon, 1989.

[184] J.-L.David, *Rapport sur la fête héroique pour les honneurs du Panthéon à décerner aux jeunes Barra & Viala, séance du 23 messidor, an 2 de la République*, Paris, 1794, p. 6.

[185] Cit. Ducroisi, *Couplets pour la fête de Barra*, Paris, 1794, p. 1.

[186] J.-L.David, *Rapport...*, op. cit., p. 13.

[187] Benezech, op. cit., p. 7.

Liège were the primary symbolic focus of the ceremony, carried in procession to a temporary home under the Porte Saint-Martin in Paris.[189] As Chaumet, *procureur* of the commune opined, this centralisation ensured 'que maintenant Liège soit dans Paris, et bientôt Paris sera dans Liège.'[190] Revolutionary festivals, which had always accommodated an honorific aspect beloved of military commemorations, increasingly prioritised archival certification and veneration over direct representation. This is typified by a pamphlet issued to accompany the festival of 1st vendemiaire year VIII (23rd September 1799), a compendium of prizes awarded for the arts (the painter Hennequin is honoured) published alongside narratives of everyday acts of derring-do and good citizenship, organised by region.[191] We read of eight year old Guillaume Perrin, who saved a five year old friend from drowning in the fast-flowing river Aisne.[192] At the other end of the age spectrum, for the young and old are especially popular subjects, the elderly Guillaume Peters admonished his two sons, who had recently returned after deserting the army, obtaining passports for them and returning them swiftly to their garrison.[193] In Verdun, the brave dragoon Pierre Brundsaux was honoured for rushing to the rescue of two ladies pursued by a wolf, which he engaged in a fight to the death and finally dispatched, a tale which bears all the hallmarks of chivalric tradition and popular melodrama.[194]

Jules Michelet famously described the festivals of the early stage of the Revolution as events at which there were no spectators, only actors.[195] For Michelet, later festivals, such as that of the Supreme Being, reduced this participatory impulse to an absurdly literal degree, even as the heroic individual was honoured – the lone actor or actress standing in for the passive, watching body of the people. Yet there

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[188] Cit. Gence, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
[189] S.-L.Maréchal, *Ordre et marche de la fête de l'Hospitalité, qui aura lieu le Dimanche, 14 de ce mois, par ordre de la Municipalité, à l'occasion du transport des Archives de la municipalité de Liège à la maison commune de Paris. Détail de toutes les cérémonies qui seront observées pour recevoir les officiers municipaux Liègeois*, Paris, 1793, p. 2.
[190] S.-L.Maréchal, ibid., p. 2.
[191] *Notice des actions héroiques, et des productions dans les sciences, la littérature et les beaux-arts, dont les Auteurs ont merité d'être désignés à la reconnaissance et à l'estime publique, dans la fête du 1er. Vendemiaire an VIII*, Paris, 1799, p. 69 for mention of Hennequin.
[192] *Notice*, op. cit., p. 4.
[193] *Notice*, ibid., p. 38.
[194] *Notice*, ibid., p. 28.
[195] J.Michelet, *Women of the French Revolution*, p. 80 in: J.B.Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of Revolution*, Ithaca and London, 1988, p. 161. Joan Landes notes the ironies of this statement as it relates to women's exclusion from, or passive role in, the revolutionary festival.

were always spectators, if not at festivals themselves then at their symbolic perpetuations in print. If spectatorship was at times an elusive concept where one would most expect it, in the wide-open space of the festival scenario, perhaps it may be found in the closed, secretive world of private papers, and their alternative engagement with the 'documentary' image.

CHAPTER THREE

Identity crisis: Certifying the French Revolution

His request was commonplace enough. In nivôse year VI (17th December 1797) one François Breton, a printer by trade from the Commune of Essonnes in the department of Seine-et-Oise, hoped to travel to Strasbourg to work on the new telegraph system which little by little was facilitating the extended transmission of information around France.[1] In order to make this journey, in which he was to be joined by workers from all over the country, Breton needed a passport, to be obtained from his local administrative offices, and had submitted the necessary request in writing, with written attestation to his good virtue by two responsible local citizens. The quotidian aspect of this appeal masks the deeply specific nature of its outcome. Breton's application was successful, and he made his journey without deviation from a pre-agreed route. At each significant ordained checkpoint, or upon request from the National Guard, he produced his passport to be examined for the relevant seals and signatures, and as often as not more were added. From this document, clerk or soldier also learnt the following information: Breton was twenty-six years old at the time, standing five foot two inches, with black hair and brown eyes. His 'oval' face and 'rounded' chin accommodated his 'medium' mouth, whilst from his high forehead ran a slightly 'pointed' nose.[2] We can only assume that the next thing they did was have a good look at him.

Breton had already received a thorough examination at the hands of the clerk who had made the manuscript descriptions in the spaces allowed on his printed passport; descriptions which were reproduced painstakingly in the ledgers of the administrative archive, and whose approval Breton had himself signed. Every time he was required to produce his passport the same procedure ensued; eyes flitted from document to face and back again, attempting to connect the person in front of the desk with a textual breakdown of his facial characteristics. Submitted to this judicial gaze, Breton yielded relatively little, he appears to have been an unexceptional looking man. He was obviously not considered a threat, and passed on his way, but for a time at least, his identity, as figured on and by the passport,

[1] A.N. F7 3496.

was at stake, a spectatorial encounter which privileged visual effects as proof. Breton's case, selected at random from millions of other suitable candidates, demonstrates the centrality of the visual to the formation of French identity during this period, and suggests a vital entrypoint to analysis of the interaction of individual subjectivities within an institutional framework of collective social, and political 'regeneration'.[3]

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If festivals were a formalisation, on a massed and highly visible scale, of revolutionary attitudes to movement and the establishment of authority, and a repudiation of the anxieties over political disintegration suggested by 'free' or unrestricted circulation, the subject of this chapter brings similar issues to bear at a more private, individual level, and arguably in a subtler and more pervasive way. Festival print and passport embody contrary approaches to the concept of 'documentary' representation. The former's pretence at objectivity is shadowed by the passport's semantic emptiness as a document which 'works', open, as Molly Nesbit has observed, to interpretation according to context.[4]

Pressing contemporary debates about human rights, immigration and security have been recently associated, in Europe and America, with the development of invasive new technologies of identification, from retinal scanning to microchip implants, and in France, to the distressingly unresolved plight of the *sans papiers*.[5] In this climate, in which individuals are to a greater degree than ever before subjected to or

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[2] A.N. F^7 3496, ibid.

[3] As with many of the images discussed in other chapters the visual aspect of the passport is enhanced by a rhetoric of vigilance and close attention to the appearance of works on paper which became exaggerated during the Revolution's radical phase. See for instance: *Procès-verbal de mise en état d'arrestation de M.Jean-François Després, directeur-contrôleur des diligences, qui [...] avait tenu, en présence du peuple amassé en foule, des propos de nature à provoquer des troubles [...] propos dont les membres du comité de la section auraient pu être victimes, malgré la vigilance qu'ils ont mis à vérifier les passeports et les diligences*, A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbaux des commissaires de police (Bondy) in: A.Tuetey ed., *Répertoire général des sources manuscrites de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*, vol. 5, Assemblée Législative 2, p. 220, document 2451.

[4] M.Nesbit, *Atget's Seven Albums*, New Haven and London, 1992, pp. 16.

[5] Witness, for instance, New Labour's revival of enthusiasm for a National Identity Card. Interestingly for my purposes, the development of biometric surveillance has, from the moment of its inception, proceeded in tandem with a public anxiety about its susceptibility to forgery. Likewise, the issues of immigration and asylum have consistently provoked conservative apprehension

excluded by the apparatus of globalised nation-states, an examination of the historical grounds for current technologies of identity documentation, particularly at the moment of modern society's alleged birth, appears especially timely. However, passports and similar certification have received scant attention in scholarship surrounding the period, and commonly the revolutionary passport (Ill. 3.1) appears as little more than a cameo in the well-rehearsed story of the king's flight to Varennes, or as a minor effect in the greater narrative of émigré participation in the Revolution; an ephemeral fragment with little tangible relevance to the 'real history' of human action.

Recent work outside the disciplinary boundaries of art history and history, most notably by the sociologist John Torpey,[6] has added theoretical weight to studies undertaken by Adrian Sée and Maurice d'Hartoy in the early twentieth century.[7] However, no work exists to date on the iconography, manufacture or daily use of the revolutionary passport, or the possible implications of this materiality for its wider meaning.[8] Rather, the revolutionary passport, despite its dependence on a visual scheme designed to aid recognition of the subject, has been confined to a distinctly non-visual realm of textual, archival reference. The transient, ephemeral nature of these documents, often issued for short periods of time and then disposed of, or transported, folded and unfolded to the point of disintegration, has not helped in this respect, whilst their operation outside of the institutionally dominant category of 'art' has rendered their opticality somewhat inconspicuous. However, instead of maintaining this artificial divide between image and text, I view the textual and visual elements of such documents as mutually constitutive of, or at least complementary to, one another. This interdependency, which operates

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regarding the possible falsification of claims, whilst identity fraud remains the UK's fastest-growing crime.

[6] J.Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge, 2000. Torpey's book assesses the development of the passport from the French Revolution to the present day, invoking a Foucauldian model of increasing surveillance linked to modern state-formation, and suggesting the passport as a prominent feature in the curtailment of individual freedom. I would like to thank Professor Torpey for his generous response and encouragement of my research on this topic.

[7] The only monographs on the use of passports in France are: M.d'Hartoy [pseud.], *Histoire du Passeport Français, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1937 and A.Sée, *Le passeport en France*, Chartres, 1907. Elsewhere, historian Mike Rapport pays particular attention to passports in his recent analysis of revolutionary nationalism. M.Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners 1789-1799*, Oxford, 2000

[8] Lynn Hunt's work on the development of the seal of the Republic is, of course, relevant to this subject, although she does not refer explicitly to its use on these documents. See: L.Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984, pp. 87-119.

occasionally at the level of a revolutionary 'imaginary', as readers of descriptive passports construct a mental image of the person described, allows for a more complicated reading of these documents, and the modes of representation they employ. Indeed, as I shall argue, once such a connection has been acknowledged, the centrality of the archive itself to the visual schema of these documents also becomes apparent.

In this chapter I examine the ambivalence expressed by revolutionaries regarding the passport in relation to the broader narratives of circulating print media, spectatorship and political subject-formation which I am outlining in this thesis. Facilitating the movement of people across internal or external boundaries, the passport is an image, or set of images, whose very being is concerned with the assistance or denial of circulation, although of course, the passport's facilitation of movement is illusory, for its relevance is only within a system of control based upon the possible denial of travel. As with the other images I discuss, passports accumulate meaning when put into circulation. Furthermore, the passport, in these pre-photographic times, has profound implications for subjectivity, as a 'word-portrait' whose validity is confirmed by the accumulation of indexical, authorial marks in the form of signatures and stamps. Thus the passport straddles the cognate issues of authority and authenticity, the latter necessary for the maintenance of the former or, perhaps, implying the same thing. Indeed, the passport is an unusual object, in that its specificity to its individual bearer deconstructs the apparent universality of reproductive print media, reinserting authenticity and aura (albeit in a context distinct from that surrounding the art object) where previously they had been lost.[9]

Against the passport, as a model of the legislative intention to circulate image and person (or at least to *control* their circulation), I posit the certificate, for instance those issued to *Vainqueurs* of the Bastille, as an almost identical material form

[9] On the loss of 'aura' brought about by reproductive media see: W.Benjamin 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in: H.Arendt ed. *Illuminations*, trans by Harry Zohn, London 1992, p. 215. Benjamin states that '[...] that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art. This is a symptomatic process whose significance points beyond the realm of art. One might generalize by saying: the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition.' The often contradictory implications of the use of the sorts of mass-printed media discussed here as signifiers of authenticity are especially apparent in temporal terms and are particularly relevant to my analysis of 'honorific' certification (pp. 188-193).

which serves conversely as a signifier of solidity and permanence. Like passports, these commemorative certificates make use of a variety of printed imagery and text, combined with manuscript additions to a printed pro-forma template, to indicate the authenticity of the document as an extension of its bearer.[10] Nevertheless, certificates and passports embody competing but often complementary strands of revolutionary consciousness: the ideal versus the everyday, the past against the present and future, the certain against the ambivalent, and a fixation on a particular time and place contrasted with the possibility of unhindered movement. Along the way I will also consider the role of membership cards such as those issued to members of political clubs, *certificats du civisme*, and other forms of certification current during the Revolution. In this chapter I will analyse the ways in which these printed documents were integral, not only to the centralisation and consolidation of state power during this period (which they undoubtedly were), but to the formation and validation of individual subjectivities and a complex of political, class, race and gender identities.

Briefly, the possession, use or mis-use of certification, whether in the form of a commemorative document, testimony, or passport, was a statement about one's position in relation to revolutionary ideology, as well as an account of the Revolution's acceptance of an individual as a 'certified' member of the revolutionary 'family'. Furthermore, even the compulsory measures effected by revolutionary legislation at various points could not condition the reception of such documents, and, as we shall see, their use was predictably varied. Indeed, just as successive revolutionary legislatures wavered in their opinion on the need for passports, moving from outright rejection to enthusiastic, and at times oppressive, acceptance, so the people who needed such documents for legal or illicit travel were forced to modify their behaviour accordingly. Besides, even when legislative codification of the forms that certification should take was at its most prescriptive, the individual qualities of each bearer determined a certain degree of deviance between each and every document. As a result a dialogue developed, between the

[10] Marshall McLuhan has famously described the bodily correlates of mass media in his discussion of media technologies as 'the extensions of man', a phrase which constitutes the subtitle to his chapter on games. This neo-humanist approach to a wide variety of technologies is, I feel, especially relevant to the documents under discussion here (which McLuhan does not mention), and the clear sense in which they literally 'stand for' their bearers. See: M.McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, London and New York, 2002 [1964].

issuing and disciplining institutions and the people who sometimes required certification, with the documents themselves falling in between, as the ground upon which this struggle for belonging was fought.

Passports and The People

On the 29th July 1790, with the euphoria generated by the emancipatory and fraternal rhetoric of the festival of Federation a very recent memory, the following deliberation, signed by Jacques Peuchet,[11] appeared in *Le Moniteur*:

> Il est un désordre de police d'autant plus odieux qu'il tient à tous les arts de la tyrannie et prive l'homme du premier, du plus juste de ses droits, celui de respirer l'air qui lui plaît, sans demander la permission d'un maître qui peut la lui refuser: c'est celui des passeports [...] les passeports sont contraires à tous les principes de justice et de raison, il n'y a que l'oubli des droits et l'inconséquence politique qui puissent les consacrer.[12]

Equating freedom to travel with the right to breathe freely, in other words establishing circulation as a natural right, Peuchet explicitly associates the imposition of passport controls with the 'tyranny' of the Old Regime. Twelve days later, the same author elaborates his point, describing passports as 'un fruit de l'Inquisition religieuse et de l'inquiétude des princes' and railing against the 'injustice sociale' which maintained their use.[13] For the reader of *Le Moniteur*, in all probability educated and fairly wealthy,[14] the references would have been explicit. For instance, even Thomas Hobbes's classic formulation of the bourgeois subject in *Leviathan* stated clearly that 'Liberty or Freedom, signifieth (properly) the absence of opposition (by opposition, I mean external impediments of motion) and may be applied no less to irrational and inanimate creatures than to rational,'[15] whilst the 'chains' with which the opening salvo of Rousseau's *Social Contract*

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[11] The lawyer Jacques Peuchet (1758-1830), a regular contributor to *Le Moniteur*, was head of police administration for the Commune of Paris. Imprisoned after the 10th August 1792 he later became *garde des archives* for the Parisian police.

[12] *Le Moniteur*, no. 210, 29th July 1790, p. 863.

[13] *Le Moniteur*, no. 222, 10th August 1790, p. 919.

[14] See: J.D.Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799*, Durham and London, 1990, pp. 20-24. *Le Moniteur's* price was no doubt due to its unusual in-folio format, adopted from English models. It should however be noted that the same copy of a newspaper was often shared amongst many readers.

[15] T.Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Indianapolis, 1994 [1668], p. 136. For an interesting reading of Hobbes as a potential theorist of portrait representation see: A.Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', *October*, no 39, 1986, pp. 7-8, n. 8. I would like to thank Sue Walker for bringing this essay to my attention.

claimed the free-born man is bound referred directly to the obstruction of personal movement as a symptom of sovereign oppression.[16]

Furthermore, Peuchet's claims were, it seems, more than hyperbole, for Ancien-Régime restrictions upon the free movement of individuals were unquestionably draconian. Passports were issued ostensibly for reasons of national security, but more probably for the revenue that could be extracted from merchants and other professional travellers. For instance, on the 3rd March 1781 a business passport was demanded of all merchants conducting trade in the Levant and Barbary. This document was sold at two rates: sixty thousand livres allowed travel to Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, Alexandria, Alep and Alger, whilst a basic rate forty thousand livres permitted the bearer to travel freely and trade with the inhabitants of any other destination.[17] Whilst such excessive pricing of passports was for the most part reserved for merchant travellers, they were by no means the only professional or social group to be explicitly targeted. Alongside diplomatic passports and those specified for the containment of contagion in case of epidemic, or, bearing only a name, for the dead, artisanal passports were also widely demanded in eighteenth-century France as a device to prevent foreigners from profiting from industrial secrets.[18] The largely peripatetic body of *colporteurs* and

[16] 'Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains'. J.-J.Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. by Maurice Cranston, Harmondsworth, 1968 [1762], p. 1. The visual and rhetorical trope of bondage, is, as Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has perceived, primarily associated with slavery, whether it be in the context of emancipation in Antiquity favoured by revolutionary discourse or the more prescient, but marginalised situation of slavery in France's colonies. Nevertheless, the invocation of 'classical' slavery by those, such as Rousseau, in relation to generalised ideals of liberty, is at base a justification of free circulation of speech (ie. *printed* speech), ideas or people. See: D.Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 17-23.

[17] M.d'Hartoy [pseud.], op. cit., p. 36.

[18] *Ordonnance du Roi qui fait défenses a tous les artistes et ouvriers établis dans l'étendue du royaume d'en sortir sans être munis du passeport*, Paris, 1765. There are of course apparent exceptions, such as the passport, now in the British Library, of one Guillaume Charpentier, 'horloger, domicilié à Londres', fifty-three years old, five foot seven, medium mouth, brown eyes and 'bienfait' nose, to travel to London, although given the restrictions upon external travel at this time it appears highly probable that the bearer's name was a French adaptation of 'William Carpenter', and that he was British. *Passport, 25 July 1792 issued to Guillaume Charpentier to travel to London – recto certificate signed by Police Commissioner of the section des Arcis, recommending issue of passport*, D.B. 14/5. (1), D.B. 14/5.(2), and D.B. 14/5. (3). Indeed, the translation of names into their French counterparts appears to have been fairly common. See, for instance, the passport issued on 18 pluviôse year XIII (7th February 1805) to an American 'Alexandre' Henderson. A.N. F^7 3571.

the journeymen who made up much of the workforce for the printing trade were, of course, bound to such regulations.[19]

Indeed, French people had been generally forbidden to cross their national borders since 1669, whilst internal regulations specified that travellers within France, if not in possession of a valid passport issued in their home town, must own an *aveu*, a testimony of moral rigour from a local religious authority.[20] Likewise, merchants and the military had for some time carried a *sauf-conduit* on their travels, a paper request for safe-keeping in the name of a higher authority, whilst the military *congé* or leave of absence was also dependent on endorsement (Ill. 3.2).[21] This co-existence of officially sanctioned passports and other less formal documentation did not subside under the Revolution, although it took on a more streamlined shape. As an *aveu* issued to one Alexandre Boine in pluviôse year IV (January-February 1796), testifies (Ill. 3.3), the revolutionary approach to certification did not bring about a decrease in paperwork, for attestations of virtue had to be supplied from several sources, in this case the bearer's former employer at a rifle factory at Versailles, before a passport could be issued.[22] Furthermore, as this document demonstrates, the formal differences between passports and declarations were slight, with both types of document containing spaces in the printed text for the manuscript description of the bearer.

In effect, then, prior to the Revolution a passport was required for travel in and out of the kingdom, as well as between provinces. In reality the system was poorly enforced, hindered by overlapping administrative regions and the fact that the

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[19] Print workers were probably more likely to be turned down for a passport as a consequence of their reputation for vagrancy or disorder. However, many print nomads, such as Isaac Cabu, a colporteur of 93 rue du Temple wishing to go to Melun on 15 pluviôse year VI (3rd February 1798), were granted passports, an outcome which may have been dependent upon his ownership of a permanent address. See for instance, the *Relevé des registres des passeports*, A.N. F^7 3503.

[20] J.Torpey, op. cit., p. 21.

[21] The confusion between passport and *sauf-conduit* can be seen in the *Encyclopédie's* conflation of terms in its entry on 'passeport', which states that 'C'est une permission ou des lettres d'un prince ou d'un gouverneur, qui accordent un sauf-conduit ou la liberté de passer, d'entrer & sortir de leur territoire librement et sans être inquiété.' However, as the author drily notes: 'Le *passeport* proprement dit, ne se donne qu'aux amis; on donne des sauf-conduits aux ennemis.' D.Diderot and J. le R.d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Tome 12, Neufchastel [Geneva], 1765, p. 124.

[22] A.N. F^7 3465: 195. The stamp at the head of this document is a good example of the invention with which revolutionary iconography was incorporated into pre-existing models. The image, bordered by an oak wreath, features a pair of crossed rifles whose barrels morph into a half-realised

majority of travellers in eighteenth-century France moved on foot.[23] The perceived corruption involved in the issuance of passports was enhanced by the dubious circumstances surrounding the departure of notorious figures such as John Law, whose flight from France was made possible by the Regent's procurement of suitable documents. Nevertheless, despite, or maybe because of the inefficiency of the system, in the early months of the Revolution passports, whose imposition appeared as a regular grievance in the *cahiers de doléances*, were considered a constraint upon individual, and therefore universal, liberty; a relic of Ancien-Régime attempts to manipulate and suppress the French people. In part the re-evaluation of the passport was a component of a generalised desire to reorganise the bureaucratic procedures of the Old Regime, a process which, as Ralph Kingston has shown, developed into a widespread reappraisal of administrative archives in the late 1790s.[24] Kingston demonstrates how the various administrative bureaux of revolutionary France purged old staff and procedures in order to train a new generation of bureaucrats schooled in revolutionary ideology. This *tabula rasa* approach may have allowed a space for anti-passport rhetoric to develop, but it by no means ruled out the possibility of the passports' re-contextualisation in revolutionary colours.

Contrary to the utopian desire to do away with passports altogether was a visceral popular response to the demographic changes brought about by the Revolution. As John Torpey rightly notes, the influx of foreign sympathisers, widespread and recurrent food shortages, deserting soldiers and the threat of hostile invasion all contributed to a generalised anxiety about internal security which focussed attention upon mendicants or 'vagabonds'.[25] These travellers *sans aveu* were suspected of targeting Parisian provisions for poor relief at the expense of local beneficiaries. In this context 'foreign' meant anyone not domiciled in Paris, as internal boundaries and restrictions upon travel remained firm even as external ones became increasingly permeable. The legal outcome to the initial relaxation of identity

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fasces, and a combined bonnet rouge/roman helmet/gallic cockerel atop a pike which constitutes the vertical aspect of a masonic triangulation of forms.

[23] This point is made in: J.Torpey, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[24] R.Kingston, 'The Men Who Knew Too Much: The Birth of Bureaucracy in Revolutionary France' in: H.Morgan ed. *Information, Media and Power Through the Ages: Papers read before the 24th Irish Conference of Historians, University College Cork, 20-22 May 1999*, Dublin, 2001, pp. 105-107.

documentation was authoritarian, the decree of 30th May – 13th June 1790 officially sanctioning the forced repatriation of all non-French beggars or those without an *aveu* who had been resident in the capital for less than a year, and all French nationals who had lived there for less than six months. These alien or excluded individuals were offered, free of charge, a passport to ensure their safe return to their country or municipality of origin. Indicating the exact route they had to take, these passports carried a right to three sous per connection or checkpoint, up to a maximum of ten sous, and each distribution of money was stamped assiduously on the passport.[26] Philanthropic as this gesture may appear, refusal to comply meant arrest and prison.[27]

The passport, even at this early stage in the Revolution, had already become a document of some contention. Embodying the conflict between social necessity and philosophical idealism, the passport was claimed by competing repressive or liberal tendencies within revolutionary politics.[28] As the threat of Counter-Revolution, exacerbated by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, became increasingly tangible, the stakes for the liberal circulation of citizens were raised. However, even in this context, no-one predicted the single event which irrevocably changed the meaning and context of the passport in the Revolution.

The attempt by the royal family to flee Paris on the 20th June 1791 engendered an unprecedented anxiety in France, the king's dereliction of duty in abandoning his people allowing for a radical renegotiation of his authority and that of the monarchy as a whole. Central to the drama were two pieces of paper: the assignat with which Drouet recognised the king at Sainte-Menehould, and the fake passport in the name of the Baron de Korff, and signed by the king himself, with which the family had

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[25] J.Torpey, op. cit., p. 24. On this subject see: D.Roche ed. *La ville promise: mobilité et accueil à Paris*, Paris, 2000.

[26] M.d'Hartoy, op. cit., p. 44.

[27] Non-conformist mendicants were made all the more visible by the declaration of the 4th August 1789 which had led to the opening of special *ateliers* in which all homeless Parisians were called to work. These workshops contributed the workers initially assigned to the construction of the Champ de Mars for the festival of Federation, whose inability to complete the task was resolved by the intervention of the Parisian populace.

[28] This point is made in: P.Bonnafoux, *Des Passeports*, Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Toulouse, 1927, p. 116. Marx, too noted this ambivalence: '[...] and how perverse private individuals are! They grumble about the government when it places limits on freedom and yet demand that the government should prevent the inevitable consequences of that freedom!' K.Marx, 'Marginal Notes on "The King of Prussia and Social Reform"' in: F.Furet, *Marx and the French Revolution*, trans. by Deborah Kan Furet, Chicago and London, 1988, p. 130.

tried to escape to the Austrian border (Ill. 3.4). In both cases, the former cavalryman Drouet was responsible for the papers' certification, and for their own certifying potential. Recognising the king against his portrait on an assignat, he refused to acknowledge his passport because it had not been co-signed by the president of the National Assembly. This signature was not in fact necessary, but no-one knew for certain, and it provided the men of Varennes with an apparently legal means to stop the king's passage.[29] Such was the frequency with which laws on passport use were issued or amended, this confusion is unsurprising. However, it serves to illustrate how the distinction between civic virtue and social necessity was blurred, deception and fraud developing in revolutionary rhetoric into an acceptable method of countering the artifice of the king's disguise.

A contemporary caricature by John Nixon, published in London by Fores under the title *Le Gourmand, Heavy Birds Fly Slow. Delay Breeds Danger* (Ill. 3.5) and reproduced in France despite its generally anti-French sentiment, situates the fake passport at the centre of the narrative of capture. The scene shows Louis, tucking into a hearty meal, being accosted with mock-obsequiousness by the *procureur* Sauce, backed up by five hussards, their headwear adorned with skulls and crossbones. To the left of the image Marie-Antoinette is shown admiring herself in a mirror, her narcissism, like the king's appetite, refusing to abate in the face of danger. The dauphin sits sour-faced at the back of the room, attended by a nurse, a detail which reinforces the rhetoric of familial neglect commonly directed at the queen.[30] On the rear wall are mounted three frames, each containing a printed image. On the left, a *génie de la Liberté*, lightning in hand, stands atop a defeated pile of representatives of *abus*. To the right, a storming of the Bastille. The revolutionary iconography of these images furthers the incongruity of the royal family's presence in such a humble setting, and provides an interesting insight into the display of prints in a provincial interior. In addition, the circumstances of the prints' publication clearly suggest that revolutionary prints from France were well-known in Britain during this period.

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[29] T.Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, Cambridge, MA, 2003, p. 7.
[30] See: L.Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992, pp. 89-123 and C.Duncan, 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in Eighteenth-Century French Art', *Art Bulletin*, no. 55, December 1973, pp. 570-583.

The humorous inversion of the king's discovery in such surroundings is alluded to by the literal inversion of the third print in the centre, the infamous passport, turned upside-down at a jaunty angle.[31] The setting of the passport between two revolutionary prints articulates, I argue, a narrative of revolutionary triumph. The king's passport, his deceit, has literally been 'turned over', in much the same way as the Bastille, and the other enemies of the Revolution in the frame on the right-hand side. The trickster has been tricked, the inversion of the king's disguise as a lowly valet reversed upon itself – a Rabelaisian hilarity compounded by the king's epicurean enthusiasm (Ill. 3.6).

Prior to the royal family's departure, in February 1791 the requests for passports received from the king's aunts in order to leave the kingdom safely had aroused the ire of the Paris Commune as well as the popular press, setting the ground for the response to the king's flight, and re-igniting the apprehension about external invasion and internal conspiracy known as the 'Great Fear'.[32] The aunts' desertion was cast as excessive or transgressive circulation, or, in the language of the irascible 'popular' voice Jean-Bart, as stimulus to an ironically threatening relaxation of restrictions upon circulation:

> Vous voulez partir; adieu, bon voyage: bon soir la compagnie. Je ne perdrai pas les soixante minutes d'une heure à vous recommander de bien dire vos paternôtres, de peur qu'il ne vous arrive en route quelque malheur par accident, f.... Car on dit que vous êtes toujours en *oremus* avec l'abbé ***. Tenez, voila le passe-port que vous m'avez demandé; il vous servira plus que tous vos chapelets et vos *agnus*, sacredié.[33]

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[31] Although the document has been identified by Antoine de Baecque as a law, Claudette Hould unequivocally states that it is indeed a passport, an attribution which appears correct, given its context and centrality within the image. Claudette Hould also points to *Le Gourmand*'s ambivalence, perhaps suggesting émigré frustration at the king's stupidity as well as an outright suspicion of and opposition to revolutionary politics. One might add that this approach conforms to the less partisan nature of British satire during this period, in which all parties were subject to equal derision and physiognomic exaggeration. See: A.de Baecque, *La Caricature Révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1988, p. 181; C.Hould, *L'Image de la Révolution française*, exh. cat., Quebec, 1989, p. 237.

[32] *Municipalité de Paris. Conseil Général de la Commune. Exposé des faits relaitfs à la demande que Mesdames, Tantes du Roi, ont faite à la Municipalité, d'un Passeport, pour sortir du Royaume*, Paris, 1791, p. 3. This document cites the journalistic uproar the emigration caused. The classic account of the 'Great Fear' of 1789 is: G.Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France*, London, 1973. For a recent comparison of collective 'fears' in 1789 and in the aftermath of Varennes see: T.Tackett, 'Collective Panics in the Early French Revolution, 1789-1791: A Comparative Perspective', *French History*, vol. 17, issue 2, June 2003, pp. 149-171 and T.Tackett, 'La Grande Peur et le complot aristocratique sous la Révolution française', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 335, 2004, pp. 1-17.

There is perhaps a third piece of paper which we could add to the constituent actors thus far established. Maps, which the king is known to have been fascinated by,[34] played an important role in the escape itself, and in the determination of the king's guilt. The re-organisation of France's provincial administrative geography into eighty-three *départements* had brought about the centralisation of bureaucratic control, and the relocation of taxation barriers to the external borders of the country, features which were to make the map an appropriate attribute for the heroic revolutionary legislator (Ill. 3.7). This process had ironically lessened restrictions upon internal travel as much as it accentuated the boundaries which separated France from its neighbours, a situation confirmed by the king's desertion, as well as by that of other émigrés.[35] Passports were required to bear full details of the bearer's origins and destination, the 'Paris – Frankfurt' claim of the king's passport acting as a textual, prognostic map which made his mendacious intentions obvious. The dual meaning of 'carte' in French as both map and (identity) card accentuates the connection between maps and passports, the former appearing in the latter in the form of the passport's obligatory itinerary, whose complexity and speed forms a contrast in this case with the royal family's tortuous four-day journey back to the capital. Furthermore, the understanding of both passports and maps requires education, and the ability to displace everyday reality (geography, or the passport-bearer) imaginatively onto a visual or textual abstraction. We may in fact view passports as sophisticated maps, possessed of a temporal dimension to rival the solitary spatial aspect of the conventional map; an advanced revolutionary chronotope in which circulation is effected rather than merely being alluded to.

The escape of the royal family by such a deceit engendered an intensified concentration on the body of the king, and specifically, its debasement. Caricaturists mediated the deconstruction of the king's sacred body extremely efficiently, reducing him to a grotesque, emasculated and dehumanised parody. The satirisation of the royal family as a 'family of pigs' (Ill. 3.8) focussed attention onto the sovereign body of the king and his family as bodies (im)politic, allowing

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[33] Jean-Bart [pseud], *Passe-port donné par Jean-Bart a mesdames de France*, Paris, 1791, p. 1.
[34] T.Tackett, *When the King...*, op. cit., p. 28.
[35] See, for instance, the account of the Marquise Lucy de la Tour du Pin, which describes the effort which went into the acquisition of a passport for travel from Bordeaux to Martinique, and the concern shown by the American captain that this 'précieux papier' should be secured before leaving France. L.de la Tour du Pin, *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans: 1778-1815*, Place of publication unknown, 1913, p. 361.

for a corresponding withdrawal of fidelity.[36] Furthermore, the fact that the king had escaped Paris disguised as a valet only served to substantiate the public perception that members of the royal family were singularly predisposed to dissimulation, and that this deception extended to all areas of their public and private lives.

The Assembly's response to the escape attempt was immediate, and on the 21st June all travel out of the kingdom was prohibited. Three days later this imposition was softened somewhat by an assurance of free circulation across internal boundaries. Meanwhile, the king's foreign minister, Montmorin, was interrogated by the Assembly over his role in the procurement of the royal passports. Accused of collaborating in the escape by allowing the passports to be issued under false names, Montmorin argued that he was unable, given his workload, to validate the identity of everyone who requested a passport. Furthermore, the king's disguise as a valet was in fact thoroughly in keeping with Ancien-Régime passport regulations for the nobility, which permitted the singular person to whom the passport applied to add a variety of other assistants, described solely in terms of their function. This extended to the bearer's family, and wife and children are often listed on the male holder's documents, as if attributes or possessions. As a result, Louis's minimal description as 'valet' on the Baron de Korff's passport was not without precedent, and Montmorin was cleared shortly before an indignant mob exacted their own form of popular justice on his home.[37]

Despite the Assembly's insistence that internal travel be allowed freely, steps had to be taken against the vigilantism which threatened travellers. Foreigners or strangers were treated with suspicion as possible counter-revolutionaries, and, two days after the king's failed escape, the mayor of Paris urged the people to allow travellers to leave the city providing that they were furnished with the appropriate passport, which he insisted would only be issued with the utmost prudence.[38] The internalisation of the fear of outsiders, centred on the liminal figure of the émigré,

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[36] This process has been analysed intriguingly by Antoine de Baecque and Lynn Hunt respectively. See: A.de Baecque, *Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France 1770-1800*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell, Stanford, CA, 1997 pp. 29-75 and L.Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution' in: L.Hunt ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, Baltimore and London, 1991, pp. 108-130.

[37] See: J.Torpey, op. cit., p. 26.

[38] J.Torpey, ibid., p. 26.

was backed up by legislative bodies, who increased surveillance across all internal borders. This political, rather than national definition of 'foreignness' isolated those with beliefs contrary to the Revolution, and helped to augment the idea that the issue of passports was a signifier of revolutionary, and therefore French, allegiance. This was especially important at a time when both object (passport) and idea (Revolution) were under threat, and served to define by inclusion or exclusion at the hands of revolutionary bureaucracy.

Against this background the eradication of passports laid down in the Constitution of September 1791 seems sudden and incongruous, although it was in fact in keeping with the liberal opinions which had been dominant on the subject prior to the flight to Varennes, and the bill was passed unopposed. Referring to article seven of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* the law guaranteed 'comme droits naturels et civils de la liberté à tout homme d'aller, de rester, de partir, sans pouvoir être arrêté ni détenu que selon les formes déterminées par la Constitution,'[39] a freedom which, in the spirit of liberty and disavowal of Ancien-Régime privation, even extended briefly to the dreaded émigrés.

Suddenly, the passport, which had figured as a problem since the early days of the Revolution, was no more, and citizens were free to move unhindered throughout the country without bearing an image in their name. We may read this measure, which in retrospect seems almost impossibly utopian, as a bureaucratic iconoclasm of sorts, purging the pre-revolutionary body, and the attendant, inspecting, authenticating documents with which it was burdened, and replacing it with an unobstructed, regenerated Revolutionary citizen, free to circulate wherever he or she wished. As we have seen earlier, the movement of people with images also had a devotional context, in the form of the Confraternity prints which were carried in procession on saints' feast days prior to the Revolution.[40] These were now, by virtue of their ecclesiastical and guild references, unacceptable, oppressive objects to be destroyed. Similarly, the associative weight of the passport tended towards the Ancien Régime, and the tyrannical suppression or incarceration of the French people. The king's flight, rather than encouraging a long-lived re-imposition of

[39] Quoted in: M.d'Hartoy [pseud.], op. cit., p. 47.

passport controls, was, for a time at least, viewed as further evidence for the passport's overthrow, for was it not a passport that had facilitated the king's escape in the first place? The removal of passports removes the temptation to dissimulate, whilst its appropriation in such sinister circumstances proves its royal and repressive affinities.

This optimistic period of free circulation was short-lived, as hostile armies began to gather on France's borders, and by late 1791 the newly-constituted Legislative Assembly was beginning to grumble ominously about conspiracy and the need for surveillance, as many frontier departments began independently to re-issue passports. Increasingly, nationalist rhetoric both influenced and was developed by passport controls. As war menaced, conspiracy and the fear of conspiracy naturally intensified within France, but could now be definitively separated from external threats, as the nation was increasingly conceptualised as a hermetic, centralised entity.

Between February and March 1792, ostensibly in the name of a repeated fear of 'brigandage', passports were reintroduced with vigour. Soon, lack of a passport amounted to an admission of guilt, and the National Guard were ordered to examine all passports and arrest anyone without the required information. On 19th July a law was passed demanding the census and archiving of all personal information, including individual descriptions, into a centralised system of retrieval. Without a listed means of subsistence, citizens had to provide the name of a local sponsor, or risk categorisation as 'suspicious'.[41] Travel became an increasingly risky business for outsiders – as Arthur Young bitterly observed in the context of his repeated arrest and denial of circulation: 'these passports are new things from new men in new power and show that they do not bear new honours too meekly.'[42] The debates of this period may be seen to provide a logical conclusion to the fallout of the king's departure, which had not been sufficiently dealt with by the relaxation of passport laws. This culminated in the official

[40] On the iconoclastic context of these images in the French Revolution see: R.Clay, 'Violating the Sacred: Theft and 'Iconoclasm' in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 26, issue 2, 2003, pp. 1-22.
[41] J.Torpey, op. cit., p. 34.
[42] A.Young as quoted in S.Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, London, 1989, p. 436.

archival institution of the revolutionary individual. Whereas previously identities had been allowed to merge deceptively in the form of the group passport, from this point on each individual was required to account for their own action and appearance on their documentation, and to be able to do so at all times. It was suggested that this process be confirmed by reproduction, and recommended that a copy of all passport declarations be returned to municipal officers, a circular procedure wherein those who had already been issued passports were required to return the account of their details to the burgeoning revolutionary bureaucracy, without whose approval the passport would not have been issued in the first place. This excess of administration, which was never passed as law, underlines the degree to which revolutionary administrators wanted to integrate the various stages of surveillance responsible for the production and control of the certified revolutionary citizen.

The debate over circulation which came to a head in the complete reversal of policy of 1792; the introduction of holistic surveillance on the back of a complete relaxation of laws concerning movement, may be seen as symptomatic of the Revolution's bi-polar character, its internal conflict between totalitarian 'security' and libertarian principles, exacerbated by the pressures of war and shortage.[43] By September 1792 the pendulum began to swing back the other way, extreme surveillance proving economically counter-productive, by restricting the movement of merchants and scarce goods.[44]

Throughout the period of the Terror, the passport wavered between the two poles of repression and liberation, and became increasingly confused with the *certificats du civisme* issued to civil servants from November 1792 until their abolition in the summer of 1795. Such certificates added a further layer to the complex of

[43] The 1792 declaration of 'La Patrie est en Danger' was a particular impetus to the change in mood. Interestingly, the mass conscription led to a very public form of documentation, as citizens enacted a pledge to the fatherland under the public gaze of the town or village square, an oath which was visibly recorded in the lists of names and signatures of those selected. This kind of 'public' archive may be seen as a theatrical, propagandistic counterpart to the secretive, repressive archive of documented identities whose legitimacy was reinforced by the reintroduction of passports – although of course, as with other public oaths, not everyone was forced to sign.

[44] Torpey notes the conflation of individual and commodity in discussion of the passport at this time, the travelling worker seen as 'walking labour' directly equivalent to the goods in circulation. J.Torpey, op. cit., p. 43. See also the extended analysis of the commodification of human labour in: K.Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I*, trans. by Ben Fowkes, London, 1990 [1867] pp. 164-165.

technologies available to establish the individual revolutionary identity only to exploit it as a tool of anonymous, hegemonic state power, thereby controlling its potentially fragmentary or counter-revolutionary potential. In addition, membership cards for radical political clubs such as the Jacobins or Cordeliers (Ill. 3.9) similarly demarcated individual political allegiance as part of a collective, supervised, as here, by prominent inspecting eyes, although it should be remembered that these documents were, as a format, politically ambivalent, and that members of royalist clubs also carried cards of allegiance.

In an appropriation which reflects the co-existence of counter-revolutionary assignats, festivals and games, the royalists in the Vendée issued their own passports, a transgressive measure designed to destabilise confidence in collective revolutionary identity by subverting the legitimacy of individual identities. A law of 28 frimaire year II (18th December 1793) required that all passports issued in the areas surrounding the Vendéean camps be annulled, amid fears that authentic passport forms were falling into enemy hands.[45] Indeed, fake passports, as well as the receipts and *aveus* necessary to obtain one, were produced in large quantities by émigré presses all over Europe. Available for small sums, these fake passports were yet another commodity to enter the market in hard currency and counterfeits of all kinds centred on notorious public spaces such as the Palais Royal. Following Torpey's belief that: 'It is axiomatic that fraud and forgery are more or less automatic responses to the imposition by states of documentary requirements of this kind,'[46] it is apparent that the production of illicit certification, and the facility with which people avoided passport regulation, was, whilst a primary impetus for the increase in surveillance, a potential means of its undoing.

Passport regulations did not relax under subsequent administrations, as the Directory imposed strict regulations that normalised the 'Othering' of all foreigners, and looked even harder at those wishing to move about the country, a process which would increase in severity until the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The development of spectatorship as a weapon of state necessarily involved a closer attention to the details of an individual's appearance, and their biography as described by their passport. This scopic expansion involved a bringing together of

[45] See: J.Torpey, ibid., p. 46.

subject, image and archive, textual description changing its meaning to assert the primacy of the visual, in keeping with the technical and metaphoric requirements of 'surveillance'.

Imag(in)ing the revolutionary subject

> Je souhaite qu'il se trouve des hommes curieux qui conservent dans leur cabinets la formule de signalement que l'on donne à un homme qui veut faire un voyage. Sa taille, son visage, la couleur et la forme de ses traits y sont détaillés avec la plus scrupuleuse exactitude et il faut de plus deux témoins qui soient cautions pour l'identité de sa personne.[47]

So wrote André Chénier in April 1791, imagining the archival legacy of the Revolution as an inventory of individual human countenances. Such an archive would provide the Revolution with the data necessary to analyse and monitor the daily movements of citizens, whilst at the same time bequeathing a body of information which would prove interesting to future generations. In the same spirit, the artist Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux, one of the principal designers of assignats, conceived a project to historicise the Revolution on a massive scale (Ill. 3.10).[48] Gatteaux suggested that a giant column in the form of a fasces be built on the site of the Bastille, each of its lances representing a *département.* Set in a circular, radiating surround, this 'monument durable'[49] would include a gallery of one hundred and twenty-eight feet in circumference, which would provide access to the main object of the structure: a repository of all the laws and resolutions passed by every government under the Revolution, and every other document useful to the state, a column of data preserving in perpetual stasis the ever-expanding output of revolutionary administration. Idle fantasy this was not, for within and below this tower of paper Gatteaux imagined shops, flats and other amenities – a kind of colossal shopping mall to fund the vast library above.[50]

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[46] J.Torpey, ibid., p. 49.

[47] Quoted in: A.Sée, op. cit., p. 7. Sée notes the irony of his own examination of the archive of Chénier's reverie in its very real location at the Archives Nationales.

[48] N.-M.Gatteaux, *Projet d'un monument pour consacrer la Révolution,* Paris, n.d. Gatteaux's project was for the most part intended to commemorate the 1790 festival of Federation, although its implications were, as the title of his work suggests, wider.

[49] N.-M.Gatteaux, ibid., p. 3.

[50] Gatteaux estimated the cost of this venture at 9,224,629 livres, an expenditure offset by the 481,200 livres per annum he expected in to earn in rents. N.-M.Gatteaux, ibid., pp. 7-8.

Although Gatteaux made no mention of the catalogue of personal details described by Chénier, the two projects share a utopian desire to historicise the Revolution in progress, and it is easy to assume that Gatteaux's towering archive could have contained the descriptions eulogised by Chénier. Perhaps it could also have accommodated the birth certificates developed and institutionalised during this period which unequivocally incorporated the individual into historical analysis.[51] Gatteaux's imagined monolith was conceived as an abstract monument to revolutionary action; an agency which, broken down into the component documents which represented it, was essentially that of the individual revolutionary participant. In a very real sense, the revolutionary passport, in both circulating and archival form, represents the historicisation of the individual citizen as a participant in the grand drama of the Revolution. Narrated by the archive, the citizen is constituted as an actor. Even those requests for passports which were refused were obsessively documented alongside successful appeals,[52] although it is the descriptive content of the latter in which I am interested here, as they transcend textual data to produce a distinctly visual effect.

Central to the passport, and to the archive which reproduced and perpetuated its information, was the description of the bearer as 'seen'.[53] Some documents, such as the passport issued to forty-year old Louis Baraud to travel from Amiens to Dieppe (Ill. 3.11), are virtually obscured by the quantity of manuscript information concerned with the inspection of the circulating subject. This, obviously, was contingent upon the length of the voyage, the amount of checkpoints passed and the assiduousness of bureaucrats. As the reverse side of this document shows (Ill. 3.12), each inspection required a textual confirmation that the official had seen Louis's 'pleine et coloré' face, a declaration which always began 'vu' (at Abbeville, at Soissons, and so on). In this statement passport and passport-carrier are merged, for both require to be seen in order that the latter can pass on. Sometimes, as on the passport of Jean-Baptiste Girardot, this observation was alluded to by the addition of a stamped vignette featuring an eye, sited here within a masonic triangle as the emblem of the Parisian bureau (Ill. 3.13). The document

[51] Registers of births also provided the basis for conscription to France's armies. Perhaps for this reason they were publicly burnt in Belgium following the insurrection of 1798.
[52] A.N. F^7 3564 - 3580
[53] This is apparent in the etymology of the word 'visa', a French appropriation of the latin 'vidēre', the past participle of 'see'.

allocated in brumaire year VII (October 1798) to Augustin Defiré, a merchant from the commune of Maur in the department of the Sarthe, went even further (Ill. 3.14). At the head of the paper, another triangle forms the frame for another eye, this time incorporated into the design, the pupil doubling as the weight for the plumb line descending from the triangle's apex. With minimum subtlety the eyelid of this fragment is inscribed 'surveillance', forming a triumverate with 'liberté' and 'egalité' on either side. The description of Defiré's blond hair and beard, round face, medium nose and mouth and ruddy skin (marked with a little mole) is anticipated and in many ways effected by the placing of this image at the head of the document.

A law of the 28th March 1792 concerning passports set out in clear terms exactly what a passport should say about its bearer.[54] First came the basic terms of issue and the administrative constraints upon the particular voyage. This began with the *département*, district and municipality of the issuing office, followed by the instruction to 'laissez passer ... [the bearer's name]' and the addition 'français ou étranger', to delete as applicable.[55] Then came the current address of the bearer, and their *département*, district and municipality of origin. The second part of the passport carried the descriptive weight; listed here were the bearer's profession, and more importantly their age, height, hair, eyebrow and eye colours, as well as space to describe, in order, their nose, mouth, beard, chin, forehead and face (*visage*).

Such an appraisal must have required a degree of descriptive skill on behalf of the issuing authority. Although many descriptions on passports appear standardised (we read, for instance of many 'medium' mouths), it is clear that a commonly recognised vocabulary of description was necessary in order to systematise the basic textual descriptions on the passports into some kind of universally comprehensible language which would allow the description to 'mean' the same as the presence of the individual to which it referred. As we have seen with reference

[54] *Loi relative aux passe-ports. Donnée à Paris, le 28 mars 1792*, Paris, 1792, p. 6.
[55] 'Laissez faire et laissez passer' was the maxim of eighteenth-century French free trade economists. It is usually attributed to Vincent de Gournay, although, as Goncalo Fonseca observes, there is some confusion as to whether the phrase originates with Gournay, Jacques Turgot, or was a later attribution by Dupont de Nemours. In this context, the '-ez' ending is always used, rather than the '-er' ending on passport declarations, although there is clearly a shared language of circulation. *H-France* listserve archive, http:// www3.uakron.edu/hfrance/, item #5521, 25th June 2003, 09:21.

to images of festivals, a standardisation of imagery was essential for the generation of common meanings.

Lynn Hunt has recently demonstrated very persuasively the degree to which the eighteenth-century novel, and the reading of novels, were implicated in the establishment of an empathetic relation between subjects that went hand in hand with the formation of the idea of 'human rights'.[56] Hunt states clearly her intent to maintain the agency of the individual subject as part of a post-Foucauldian reassessment of generalised assumptions made about collective subjectivity. For Hunt the primary site of the evolution of 'human rights' as a political construct developed between individuals is the epistolary novel, particularly those of Richardson and Rousseau; the notion of 'human rights' finding its etymology in the work of the latter. The reader's imagined, and private, empathy with the lack of autonomy experienced by the female heroines of these novels is for Hunt a key element in the formation of individual subjecthood in this period.

The revolutionary passport, whose implications for human rights are self-evident (and far from positive), also demands a relationship between individuals which, whilst not strictly empathetic, requires a recognition of the relativity of object and subject, and a shared language of expression which may be read alongside the mutuality advanced by Hunt's analysis. However, whilst the vocabulary of description employed on revolutionary passports may appear 'novelistic' in its attempt to describe the human subject and its emphasis on personal narrative, its ontology of unified description is perhaps more akin to the 'questionnaire' organised in prairial year II (June 1794) by the Abbé Grégoire to describe and extinguish regional dialect, and by doing so to establish, as part of a revolutionary rhetoric of wholeness and completion, a unified 'mother tongue'. Grégoire's project was, like the passport, a classificatory text. In an attempt to prevent the fragmentation of a revolutionary symbolic order, in which the shortest words were considered closest to nature, the authors of the project utilised a system of questions to reconstitute an elusive, fragmented subject. As de Certeau remarks:

[56] L.Hunt, 'Bodies and Selves in the Eighteenth Century', keynote paper given at the 72nd Anglo-American Conference of Historians, The Institute of Historical Research, London, 2nd July 2003.

'Avec les fragments d'une érudition et d'une information souvent très réelles, ils "bricolent" la répresentation d'un absent.'[57]

The meaning of verbal description on the passport should not however, be confined to linguistic interpretation. I am keen to explore the inherent opticality of these documents, which inherit the majority of their features, I suggest, from a visual sphere dominated by conventions of portraiture, and the gradations of pseudo-moral virtue according to bodily type implicit in physiognomical discourse, a totalising set of strategies which 'fostered an etymological approach to the face,'[58] ensuring, as Barbara Maria Stafford has observed, that 'there were no images incapable of being misunderstood.'[59] Furthermore, it appears that revolutionary certification performed a reverse effect upon portraiture, especially printed portraiture, reproducing and confirming its validatory rhetoric.

There is a profound discrepancy, as Tony Halliday has observed, between the extent and significance of portrait production during the Revolution and its position within histories of revolutionary art.[60] Nevertheless, portrait production during the Revolution proved to be one of the most prominent sites for the articulation of revolutionary attitudes to the individual. Capable of functioning , according to Allan Sekula, both honorifically and repressively, the portraits' allegiance was at best ambivalent.[61] As Sekula explains, in the context of nineteenth-century police photography:

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[57] Abbé Grégoire, *Rapport sur les patois et l'usage de la langue française, 16 prairial an II*, A.N. ADXVIII^{C} 289, discussed in: M.de Certeau, D.Julia and J.Revel, *Une politique de la langue: la Révolution française et les patois: l'enquête de Grégoire*, Paris, 1975, p. 156. See also: J.Cellard, *Ah! Ça ira, ça ira ... ces mots que nous devons à la Révolution*, Paris, 1989 for an account of the Revolution's linguistic neologisms, and S.Bianchi, 'Les "prénoms révolutionnaires" dans la Révolution française un chantier en devenir', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 322, 2000, pp. 17-38 for an analysis of the linguistic regeneration of first names during the Revolution. Contemporary dictionaries too noted the transformation in language effected by the Revolution, one satirical edition published in 1791 in 'Politicopolis' (Paris) marking with a star system words which were no longer in use, to be removed for the next edition. M.de l'Épithète [pseud.], *Dictionnaire national et anecdotique, pour servir à l'intelligence des mots dont notre langue s'est enrichie depuis la Révolution*, Paris, 1790, p. 9.

[58] B.M.Stafford, *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine*, Cambridge, MA, 1991, p. 92.

[59] B.M.Stafford, op. cit., p. 95.

[60] T.Halliday, *Facing the Public: Portraiture in the Aftermath of the French Revolution*, Manchester, 1999, p. 1. Elsewhere, Halliday comments upon the way in which the 'portraiture' element of many canonical works of the Revolution has been neglected in favour of their narrative or historical qualities. See: T.Halliday, 'David's *Marat* as Posthumous Portrait' in: W.Vaughan and H.Weston eds., *David's Death of Marat*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 56-76.

[61] A.Sekula, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

> To the extent that bourgeois order depends upon the systematic defense of social relations based on private property, to the extent that the legal basis of the self lies in the model of property rights, in what has been termed "possessive individualism", every proper portrait has its lurking, objectifying inverse in the files of the police.[62]

The contrast is germane. In 1793, the Convention decreed that a description of Pâris, assassin of Michel Le Pelletier, be printed and posted around the capital, published in the bulletin of the Convention, and distributed to all eighty-four departments, in order to speed his capture – a 'wanted' poster in a format familiar as a cliché of the twentieth-century Western movie, but lacking, of course, the ubiquitous photographic mug-shot. At the same time that David was beginning work on his martyr-portrait of Le Pelletier (Ill. 3.15), a painting dependent upon a balance between idealisation and easy recognition of its subject, an 'inverse' textual portrait of the murderer shared the same Convention hall where David's profile rendering of the victim was to hang:

> Pâris: Taille de cinq pieds cinq pouces, barbe bleu, cheveux noirs, teint basané, belles dents: vêtu d'une houpelande grise, reverts verts, & chapeau rond.[63]

But what of the police file which functions 'honorifically', the archive which validates and entitles? The revolutionary passport may be one such case, a body of documentation which, by repressively claiming rights to an individuals' description, paradoxically allows for their unhindered circulation. Whereas the commemorative certificate may be squarely aligned with the bourgeois individualism Sekula views as the progenitor of the 'proper portrait', the passport occupies a more unstable, ambiguous position between portraiture's contesting tendencies. Rather than simply seeing portraiture as an explanatory device for revolutionary certification, revolutionary certificates may be seen to stage a contrary effect, complicating our understanding of portraiture and the media used to achieve it.

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[62] A.Sekula, ibid., p. 7.

[63] *Décret de la Convention Nationale, du 21 janvier 1793, l'an II de la République française. Rélatif au signalement de Paris, assassin de Michel Le Pelletier*, Besançon, 1793, p. 1. Tom Gretton observes how David's image is also a portrait of the weapon with which Lepelletier was murdered. It is therefore, also a portrait of Pâris. T.Gretton, 'Marat, *l'Ami du Peuple*, David: Love and

Towards the end of the 1790s a series of portraits appeared, in addition to the more familiar topographies of historical events, in the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* (Ill. 3.16).[64] Those depicted were the 'great men' of the Revolution, represented in a format inherited from Ancien-Régime traditions of portraiture which featured an image of the sitter above a text (Ill. 3.17).[65] This *exemplum virtutis* aimed to educate the patriotic citizen by encouraging them to memorialise the Revolution's political and military leaders. The images may be considered as paradigmatic 'honorific' portraits, classical attributes and textual platitudes combining to enhance the sitter's mythical reputation. However, this series honoured not only the living but the dead, and placed the aristocrat, king, priest or counter-revolutionary alongside the revolutionary 'hero'. Marie-Antoinette, Charlotte Corday and Dumouriez were published in a series which also contained Robespierre and Marat. The series incorporated historical and political change by a simple process of assimilation, continuing after 9 Thermidor to include images of Fouquier-Tinville and other prominent Terrorist agents. New versions of prints were released when a character's story prominently changed, and figures from Necker to Danton to Saint-Just received regular updates in the *Tableaux* and its many derivatives.[66]

The series represent an encyclopaedic attempt to accumulate the relevant details of individual (and therefore group) identity. Often, as with images of the king (Ill. 3.18), artists replicated the segmentation and listing of the parts of the face seen on passport descriptions, as well as sharing a language of description with other

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Discipline in the Summer of '93' in: W.Vaughan and H.Weston eds., *David's Death of Marat*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 36.

[64] A meagre literature exists on these images. An exception is: S.Roy, 'Un Panthéon des «Personnages qui ont éminement marqué dans la Révolution, soit en bien, soit en mal»: Les Portraits des *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*' in: *La Revolution par la Gravure: les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, exh. cat., Vizille, 2002, pp. 50-76 and images on pp. 272-284.

[65] See for instance the engravings commissioned for the Cardinal Richelieu in M.Vulson de la Colombière, *Les portraits des hommes illustres françois*, Paris, 1668.

[66] As a consequence of their repeated reinterpretation of historical reputations, the *Tableaux* portraits were one of the primary sites for the construction of Robespierre as feminised, unhealthily overdressed and sphinx-like, a characterisation formed in comparison to the bullish, enigmatic Danton. This polarisation involved an excessive concentration upon the physiognomies of both men, which were considered transparent reflections of heinous moral attributes, to be rehearsed in various media from post-Thermidor engravings (amongst which the *Tableaux* were one of the few which made any attempt to portray these figures as anything other than caricatures) to contemporary interpretations such as Andrzej Wajda's 1987 film *Danton*. See: J.Falkowska, *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda: Dialogism in 'Man of Marble', 'Man of Iron' and 'Danton'*, Providence, NJ and Oxford, 1996, pp. 102-111 and M.-H.Huet, *Mourning Glory: The Will of the French Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 149-179.

prints. Attention to the physiognomical differences between individuals was a characteristic shared between 'high' and 'low' art, from the systematic facial tropes of Lebrun, to the aggressive distortions and appropriations of caricature. Added to this was the textual description, which, I argue, echoed the imaginative narrative of the passport. For instance, Mirabeau is described in a print of 1798 as having: 'une santé robuste, un gaite imposant, une voix sonore retentissante, une grande audace, beaucoup de savoir, encore plus d'intrigue.'[67] As we should perhaps expect by this point, the description of Mirabeau's physical and emotional properties soon leads to an indication of his suspect status as a man of 'intrigue' (Ill. 3.19). Conversely, following a description of Corday's composed and articulate justification for her actions, and her politically conscious death, we read how 'sa tête étoit haute sans fierté, ses regards libres sans dédain, ses traits expressifs et animés sans fureur.' Nevertheless, this is tempered by a characteristically judicial refusal to absolve her crime, and a reminder that the details of her transgression will be retained in (printed) memory alongside those of other offenders, for: 'sa mémoire passera à la postérité comme celle de tous les grands coupables; car, on ne peut pardonner l'assassinat, même celui de Marat.'

The 1798 advertisement for the series, by Auber, its publisher, emphasised the surveillance connotations of the project. Auber wrote:

> Au bas de chaque portrait, il y aura un sujet analogue aux principaux traits qui caractérisent le personnage représenté. Ces portraits sont parfaitement ressemblans: les sujets gravés au-dessous sont composés et exécutés par Duplessi-Bertaux, le *Calot* de nos jours; au-dessous desdits sujets, on trouvera l'histoire de la vie publique et privée du personnage dont on donne le portrait.[68]

These 'perfect' resemblances are to be examined in both public and private life, the very 'layering' of data desired but not accomplished in 1792. As Daniel Roche points out: 'At the end of the eighteenth century in the popular areas of Paris the frontiers between private and public life had already become unclear: people were always having to show their papers.'[69] The accumulative portrait series in the

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[67] *Honoré, Gabriel, Riquetti, Mirabeau* by Levachez and Duplessi-Bertaux, 1798, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.
[68] *Le Moniteur*, no. 359, 29 fructidor year VI (15th September 1798), p. 1440.
[69] D.Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. by Marie Evans, Leamington Spa, 1987 [1981], p. 211.

Tableaux functions somewhere between 'celebrity'-based journalistic opportunism and bureaucratic assimilation of, and influence on, artistic practice, an 'honorific' collection which viewed together, resemble a police file, retrospectively re-ordered with the addition of new information. In this context we should perhaps also recall Gabriel's sardonic physiognomies of prominent Jacobins (Ill. 3.20) or David's series of portrait miniatures of Jacobin deputies, which he, appropriately enough, painted during his second spell in prison, in 1795 (Ill. 3.21). Utilising a profile format whose signifying power was adopted from Roman coinage, David's images examine a prison community through an 'oculus of posterity'.[70] However, this ideal is subverted, for as Ewa Lajer-Burcharth has observed, the uncompromising realism of these profiles 'bring to mind the diagnostic gaze of an eighteenth-century physiognomist'[71] whilst 'the *Jeanbon Saint-André*, for example, looks rather like a mug shot.'[72]

Identifying 'Others'

As much as revolutionary certification aimed at an inclusive, panoptic documentation of citizens, so it worked to define the limits of their inclusion. Passports make for a fascinating case study of those sectors of society revolutionaries found hard to reconcile, for whatever reason, with the dominant fictions they established: in particular women and racial Others. As often as not, this was a process which defined itself negatively, by absence or silence, making it hard to ascertain exactly what was at stake. However, we can at many points read into this reticence, by reference to external factors, many of the anxieties which structured revolutionary approaches to belonging and the maintenance of social and political boundaries.

Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby records a particular case which sheds light upon the descriptive means employed to mark racial difference.[73] Grigsby demonstrates how the passport of Joseph Boisson, a black deputy from the colony of Saint-

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[70] E.Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*, New Haven and London, 1999, p. 100. Lajer-Burcharth suggests that the heavy outlines of these images indicate that David may have intended to have them engraved and circulated as a print series (p. 104).
[71] E.Lajer-Burcharth, ibid., p. 102.
[72] E.Lajer-Burcharth, ibid., p. 102.
[73] *Republique Française. Département du Finistère. District de Brest. Municipalité de Brest. Laisser-passez le C. Joseph George ...*, passport issued 30 prairial, Year II. in: D.Grimaldo Grigsby, op. cit., p. 37.

Domingue, demarcated Boisson's supposed racial difference in the absence of a section on the printed form in which race could be indicated. In the place of such an inquiry, a clerk at Brest used the adjectival space afforded him to signify the passport bearer's 'blackness'. Boisson's hair is described as 'black frizzy', his nose 'large', his face 'round black' and his forehead 'low bowed'. These generalised and more specifically physiognomical descriptions were the basis of Boisson's identification in France as a subservient, racially inferior individual; exaggerated and standardised physical typologies conditioning his social and political status, and consequently, his membership of the revolutionary collective.

Grigsby draws a parallel between the classification of Boisson and the 1797 portrait of his friend, the ex-representative of the colonies Jean-Baptiste Belley by Anne-Louis Girodet (Ill. 3.22).[74] As she elaborates:

> Girodet in his studio stared at Belley as the clerk had stared at Boisson. And he too faced the challenge of adapting an existing set of conventions and skills to the description of the particularity of a novel person. He and the clerk performed commensurate jobs.[75]

At play here is a politics of recognition, which, as with the images of the king's capture at Varennes, leads to a subversive or ideologically loaded distortion of the body. Artist and clerk collaborated in their representations of 'blackness' via common reference to established conventions of schematising Otherness. Boisson and Belley's 'novelty' testifies to this separation of self and non-self, a subtle yet effective barrier to black citizens' rights. Furthermore, Grigsby's comparison of artistic and clerical task is a reminder of the French Revolution's intensified desire to imagine itself as whole, or completed. The 'imagined community' to which Boisson and Belley could not yet truly belong was nevertheless the object in relation to which they were pictured.

Grigsby's analysis is bolstered by another document which she fails to mention. In messidor year IV (June 1796), the year before he painted his portrait of Belley, Girodet applied for a passport to travel from Paris to his home town of Montargis.

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[74] On this painting see: H.Weston, 'Representing the Right to Represent: The Portrait of Citoyen Belley, Ex-representative of the Colonies by A.-L.Girodet', *Res*, no. 26, Autumn 1994, pp. 83-100.
[75] D.Grimaldo Grigsby, op. cit., p. 37.

The Archives nationales contain this passport (Ill. 3.23), as well as two handwritten requests by the artist, which cite a letter written to Benezech by Ginguené, in support of this application.[76] Although we have no proof to suggest that Girodet's submission to this procedure, the description of his chestnut hair and eyebrows, blue eyes, straight nose, big mouth, round chin and oval face – his height (five foot four inches), his age (twenty-nine), his place of birth (Montargis, department of Loiret) and his profession, in any way directly influenced the production of his portrait of Belley, it may be that the itemisation of the artist's facial characteristics encouraged an awareness of Belley's difference – a distinction which Girodet's portrait dramatises to immediate effect. Later, Napoleonic passports often included a section in which to describe 'teint', although the appearance of this category was fairly irregular, and there seemed to be some confusion as to how it should be completed. Often, this section was left blank, or else filled in with the single word 'coloré', which could variously indicate skin colour or, for instance, a 'ruddy' complexion.

Within the context of the Parisian police system, the certificate or passport provided an excuse for the institutionalisation of repressive measures against those who were unwelcome or suspect in the revolutionary community for racial reasons. The houses of Parisian Jews and other perceived and real immigrants were regularly raided in the early hours by the police; the absence of identity documents, particularly passports, serving, from the early days of the Revolution, as an admission of guilt.[77] The passport allowed for a judicial framework which reiterated a rhetoric of belonging, a framework which not only required that an individual's presence be constructed in terms defined by their printed documentation, but that this documentation should combine geographical and temporal testimonies to reinforce national distinction and imagine the revolutionary subject in terms of their past, specifically where they came from – a revolutionary 'provenance' of sorts. This, too had, as we shall see, a legitimised obverse in the historically determined certification of honour.

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[76] A.N. $F^{7}3570$

[77] See for instance: *Procès-verbaux de visite de nuit de commissaire Vanglenne chez les logeurs où demeurent les juifs, à l'effet de constater la présence de ceux qui n'ont point de passeports ou qui sont suspects*, 21January – 30 June 1789, Minutes, A.N. Y 16005.

As with portraiture, the amount of information accorded to particular individuals on their passports varied enormously. Apart from personal descriptions, the reasons given by the applicant for their voyage ranged from the exotically detailed, to the cryptic. One Louis Lafont, for instance, a former naval surgeon, left in 1791 for the coast of Guinea. Later taken prisoner by the Spanish, he was freed with the assistance of the Governor of Cadiz, and continued his travels.[78] Lafont's tribulations were typical of colonial travellers, the *registre* combining essential detail and biographical account to produce a narrative in the style of the adventure story. On the other hand, reports could be obtuse. We read of one Alexin Gloutier, 'allant à Strasbourg pour ses affaires',[79] whatever they might be, or of Jean-Louis Magin, who is described in one terse monosyllable on 11 floréal year II (30th April 1794) simply as 'allant'.[80]

The implications of passport use for women in the Revolution were, as I have already hinted, ambiguous. Until concern over security forced the issue of individual passports, married women were usually 'carried' on the passport of their husband. They were absented from the official documents of identity in this period, figuring at best as subaltern and incapable of independent action, at worst as property. The fall-out from the king's flight to Varennes necessitated individual descriptions and signatures on all passports and registers, although passports could still be issued jointly. To this day French women retain their maiden names on their passports, a typically equivocal conflation of surveillance and liberation derived from this legislation. The changes in the meaning and use of the passport gave women an unprecedented existence in the national archive, although this archive was, as often as not, as capable an instrument of repression as complete administrative absence.

Absence was, for many people, a preferred state. Émigrés and aristocrats were keen to avoid revolutionary administration as much as possible, although in order to leave the country they required exceptional documentation, real or fake. Amongst this loosely defined group absence had already been conceptualised as portraiture in

[78] *Extrait du registre des passports du Magistrat d'Ath, commencé le 19 août 1793*, A.N. F^7 3496. No. 51, p. 5.
[79] *Registre du passeports, commencé la 2 brumaire an 4 – 1807*, Paris, A.N. F^7 3496. No. 127, p. 12.
[80] *Registre*, ibid., p. 16.

the form of silhouette likenesses or physiognotraces.[81] In *l'Urne mystérieuse* (Ill. 3.24) and many similar images, the silhouette experiments of Lavater and his successors were popularised to memorialise the French royal family, with profile portraits of Louis, Marie-Antoinette, Mme Elizabeth and the Dauphin formed by the spaces surrounding a mausoleum urn, and in the gaps appearing between the descending fronds of a weeping willow. In *Un sans-culotte, instrument des crimes, dansant au milieu des horreurs* (Ill. 3.25) the connection between this form of portraiture and the 'crimes' of the Jacobin *sans-culotterie* is made explicit, the profile of Louis appearing, appropriately, in the space formed around the neck of a leering revolutionary. Although the deception of these *jouets séditieux* is a fairly obvious one, using the absence of complete pictorial description as an analogue to the absence of the signified royal family, the idea of a dematerialised portrait, constructed from a delineation of facial shape, had already been pre-figured in official identity documents, adapted here to the mediation of a firmly anti-revolutionary political identity.[82] The clear obstacles to personal safety represented by the possession of explicitly counter-revolutionary or royalist iconography were overcome by the absenting of the departed royal family, although such images were no doubt more openly displayed amongst émigré communities than in France.

The heads of those guillotined during the Terror achieved a powerful psychic significance which, as Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, Daniel Arasse and Ronald Paulson have variously shown, found a highly complex visual expression in the form of paintings, prints, and other media from earrings to waxworks.[83] Furthermore, this visual connectivity extended to macabre inventories of all those executed during the Terror, complete with descriptions, and heavy reference to 'Dame Guillotine' issuing 'passeports pour l'autre monde'.[84]

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[81] See: C.Harris *Portraiture in Prints*, Jefferson, NC and London, 1987, p. 120.

[82] The use of silhouettes in a memorial context is not unusual or unprecedented. As Anthony Phelan notes with regard to the significance of silhouettes in German Romanticism: '[...] the shadow-outline of the silhouette is, at least, a stimulus for memories which flood and revivify its undefined and unrealized space.' A.Phelan, 'The Content of Silhouettes', *Paragraph*, vol. 21, no. 2, July 1998, p. 164. I discuss this type of image further in my final chapter, pp. 240-241.

[83] See: E.Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*, New Haven and London, 1999; D.Arasse, *La Guillotine dans la Révolution*, exh. cat., Vizille, 1987; and R.Paulson, 'The Severed Head: The Impact of French Revolutionary Caricature on England', in: J.Cuno ed., *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-99*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, pp. 55-65.

[84] F.B.Tisset, *Compte rendu aux sans-culottes de la République française, par très-haut ... Dame Guillotine ... contenant le nom et surnom de ceux à qui elle a accordé des passeports pour l'autre*

Arasse, in particular, has drawn attention to the potential of the guillotine, by separating and fixating on the head, to function as 'a sort of portraitist, a veritable, indeed a terrifying, "portrait machine".'[85] Arasse notes the generic specificity of printed portraits of guillotined heads, which allowed a leisurely view of what was often obscured at the execution, and a prolonged examination of the criminal physiognomy. The guillotine portrait thus aimed towards transparency, stripping bare the 'true' aspect of the victim at their last, whilst re-inserting dissimulation in the form of the death masks from which such portraits were often derived. Fascinatingly, Arasse suggests a direct connection between this sub-genre of print culture and photography, noting that nineteenth-century drop-shutter cameras used for portrait photographs were nicknamed 'guillotines', whilst at the same time the executioner's assistant, responsible for 'framing' the head in the 'window', was known as the 'photographer.'[86] Roland Barthes, who more than anyone recognised the deathly charge of photography, observed that its revolutionary capacity derived from its ability to witness, for: 'Every photograph is a certificate of presence [...] in the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation.'[87] Without wishing to assume a certain historical inevitability, I would argue that the revolutionary passport in many ways anticipates the invention of photography, its accumulation of authenticating data, its need visually to certify presence, all speeding the passport's eventual use of a medium which rapidly became its central component. In short, the early history of criminal or documentary photography makes good a desire for authentication which the passport, limited in its technology, could only approximate, but to which it nevertheless aspired.

The fear of imagined and unimaginable Others was exacerbated by reports of sinister priests and aristocrats attempting to flee the country in disguise, often as members of the National Guard.[88] The Amis de la Constitution of Mans were

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monde, le lieu de leur naissance, leur âge ... depuis son établissement au mois de juillet 1792 jusqu'à ce jour, Paris, 1794.

[85] D.Arasse, *The Guillotine and the Terror*, trans. by Christopher Miller, London, 1989, p. 134.

[86] D.Arasse, ibid., pp. 139-140.

[87] R.Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. by Richard Howard, London, 1981, p. 87-89.

[88] See for instance: *Lettre du département de Police au président du Comité de surveillance de l'Assemblée [...] qui signalait à M.Pétion le voyage à Paris de quantité de nobles et d'abbés sous l'uniforme de garde national, animés d'intentions les plus suspectes, attendu que le relevé des passeports pour Paris*, 13th May 1792, A.N. DIII 235 or *Déclaration de M.Louis Gerbu, soldat de la section de Henri IV, rélévant l'arrivée à Paris de nombreux étrangers, presque tous en uniformes de*

typical in their enthusiastic denunciation of these transgressive individuals. In a letter to Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, then mayor of Paris, they revealed the departure for Paris of more than three hundred refractory priests, 'armed' with passports, and disguised as soldiers or merchants.[89] Hysterically described as a 'horde de vampires', the refractory priests possessed an unstable identity lodged somewhere between certified citizen and transgressive, monstrous Other, their apparently legitimate passports the primary tool of their subversion. Of course, true National Guards were required to bear specific certification, Lafayette demanding in August 1789 a paper 'oath' as a means to protect against the militancy within the ranks which ultimately necessitated a Federation. For the bearer, this document was to stand as '[...] un monument des services qu'il a rendus à la nation,'[90] yet such a defined historical significance did little to protect against the insidious and duplicitous treasons which subversions of the national uniform connoted, and the subsequent threat of a multiplicious, unstable revolutionary identity.

Paper-work: The materiality of the passport

Environmental or seemingly extraneous information was essential to the construction of meaning in the description on a passport, adding 'background' or 'landscape' to the image which revolutionary officials had to construct of the traveller before them. Corresponding to the wealth of descriptive detail contained in every passport, and the individuality conferred by the different routes, qualifiers, signatures and stamps upon which the authority of each passport was maintained, was the huge variety in the form such documents could take. The format of passports, whether vertical or, less commonly, horizontal (Ill. 3.26), the calendar used, and the amount of description it was thought appropriate to add, all varied. For most of the Revolution, passports differed in style and iconography according to the department or municipality in which they were issued, although this extended

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gardes nationaux, munis de passeports délivrés par les officiers municipaux aristocrates, 3rd April 1792, A.N. DIII 235. This fear was exacerbated by the possibility that illicit foreign travellers would bring with them supplies of rare metal coinage, see: *Lettre des administrateurs du département de Police au Comité de surveillance [...] Par le sieur Julien Le Roy, signalent nombre d'Americains domiciliés à Paris, qui se sont à l'avance munis de passeports et qui emporteraient, le cas échéant, beaucoup de numéraire...*, 11 July 1792, A.N. F^{7} 4590.

[89] *Lettre de M.Pétion, maire de Paris, au Comité de surveillance, lui transmettant la copie d'une lettre des Amis de la Constitution du Mans, qui dénonçait le départ pour Paris de plus de 300 prêtres réfractaires, munis de passeports, pour la plupart sous l'uniforme national, ou déguisés en marchands*, 2nd April 1792, A.N. AA49 no. 1391.

[90] Certificate template reproduced in: L.Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris. Dédiées à la Nation & au District des Petits-Augustins*, no. 4, Sunday 2nd to 8th August, 1789, Paris, p. 13.

mostly to the borders, font and letterhead, whilst the printed textual content aspired to universality. Indeed, before 1789 the majority of political documents, particularly those which circulated outside the capital, had little or no decoration, apart from the occasional ornate typographic line or oversized initial capital.[91] Stereotyping of vignettes had been common in Paris, especially for laws or military *congés*, since the 1780s, but did not for the most part disseminate to the provinces, accounting for a variety in production.[92] Handwritten passports were, however, unsatisfactory, usually resulting from lack rather than preference. In a reversal of printing's conventional relationship to the written word, handwritten passports directly copy the format and wording of official printed versions (Ill. 3.27).

Although the basic questions which the passport asked were regulated, it was not until the military expansion of Napoleon's regime that passports came to look alike across France. Interestingly, once formulated as such, it was the technology of paper money which provided the most ready reference for these objects. Alexandre-Jacques-Laurent Anisson Duperron, an auditor of the Ministry of Finances and the Treasury from 1806 to 1809, and Inspector General of the Imprimerie Impériale from 1809, urged as much in a letter of 1810. The author's father, Étienne Anisson Duperron, had of course been director of the Imprimerie Royale/Nationale until his execution on 6 floréal year II (25th April 1794), and had been responsible for the early production of assignats. Alexandre-Jacques-Laurent remarked how 'ces objets ont été executés avec un grand soin par les meilleurs artistes du temps, & la difficulté de la contrefaçon [...] résulte necessairement de la perfection du travail.'[93] Bemoaning the continued residence of the useful assignat-making equipment in the archives at the Hôtel de Soubise, Anisson Duperron hopefully explained how 'chargé de presenter des modeles pour la confection des

[91] J.-L.Debauve, 'Les vignettes révolutionnaires morbihannaises (1791-1804)', *Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, no LXII, 1985, p. 367. On revolutionary vignettes see also: A.Boppe and R.Bonnet, *Les vignettes emblématiques sous la Révolution*, Paris, 1911; E.Liris, 'Autour des vignettes révolutionnaires: la symbolique du bonnet phrygien' in: M.Vovelle ed., *Les Images de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1988, pp. 307-316; V.Chansard, 'Les Rapports du discours et de la symbolique dans les vignettes révolutionnaires' in: M.Vovelle, op. cit., pp. 317-322 and J.-E.Raux, *Les Vignettes emblématiques*, Saint Germain-en-Laye, 1995.

[92] J.-L.Debauve, ibid., p. 371.

[93] A.-J.-L.Anisson Duperron, *L'Auditeur au Conseil d'Etat, Inspecteur de l'Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, le 15 juin 1810.* Manuscript letter in: A.N. F^7 3494

passeports, je pense que l'on pourrait y appliquer avec succès des sceaux, bordures & vignettes qui ont servi autrefois à la fabrication des assignats.'[94]

Napoleonic passports (Ill. 3.28), with their cursive borders, stamps and counterfoils do indeed recall the visual language employed by assignats and, for the latter quality, *mandats territoriaux*. Whilst it appears that Anisson Duperron never succeeded in his attempt to recycle the productive technologies remaindered in the archive, it is clear that assignats were very much on his mind when he designed a standardised passport. Implicit in such an appeal to (and correspondingly, a production of) collective revolutionary memory is a comprehension of assignats as signifiers not of financial disaster, but rather the effective use of print media against the immoral and counter-revolutionary tendencies represented by counterfeiting. The war against counterfeiting and attendant perfection of the assignat are invoked to suggest the potential incorruptibility and standardisation of the passport. The counterfeit note, whose circulation provoked such anxiety in the 1790s, is the implied bodily counterpart to the unrestricted circulation of individuals. Over seventeen years before Anisson Duperron's letter, the Convention, debating the passport issue, had stressed the importance '[...] pour mettre les autorités constituées en état de connoître, de faire arrêter & punir les malveillans qui circulent dans différentes parties de la république, & excitent à la violation des loix.'[95] This circulation of individual suspects naturally extended to a free circulation of ideas, the administration of the Département de Basses-Pyrenées recommending that it '[...] redoublera d'efforts et de zèle pour opposer les vues perfides des malveillans, qui chercheroient à agiter le peuple, où des traitres qui tenteroient desentrer dans le sein de la Patrie, contre la qu'elle ils ont osé diriger les poignards parricides.'[96]

Anisson Duperron's desire to re-activate the revolutionary archive is a retrospective visual linkage of passport and money which had, in any case, been made many years previously via both objects' association to ideas and anxieties concerning

[94] A.-J.-L.Anisson Duperron, ibid.
[95] *Décret de la Convention Nationale, du 26 février 1793, l'an second de la République Française, relatif aux passeports*, Paris, 1793.
[96] *Le Commissaire provisoire du Directoire exécutif près l'Administration Centrale du Département de Basses-Pyrénées, au Comité de surété générale, 13 brumaire l'an 4*, Manuscript letter in: A.N. F^7 3494

circulation. Indeed, the taxonomical boundaries between the two objects are permeable, as assignats were, initially at least, 'certificates' representing the ownership of transubstantiated land, whilst passports were value-bearing and promissory. Certainly, the circulation of assignats and passports were commonly linked in discourses of surveillance.[97] It is no surprise to see Gatteaux's central design for the 400 livres assignat of 21st November 1792 (Ill. 3.29) reproduced in a clumsy and amateurish fashion as the letterhead and passport image for the Département de la Nièvre.[98] Furthermore, Anisson Duperron's connection of money form and identity documentation is unsurprising given the assignats' appropriation as a marker of political identity in the mid-1790s. Although he is arguing here for a very strictly regulated and partisan form of identity documentation, maybe the slippage of allegiance the assignat had signified led to the rejection of its technologies as a suitable template. Perhaps Anisson Duperron's request was meant to attach to the assignat a retrospective valorisation?[99] More likely he intended the association to confer 'value' on the passport, via the stated quality of the artistic labour used to make assignats, and by the more elementary parallel with the value of money. If so, such a meaning was already partly in place, by way of the value-bearing stamps on passports indicating the tariff paid for a particular voyage.

The majority of passports printed in Paris were produced under the auspices of the national print workshops, in their various institutional guises. Here, as with assignat production (Ill. 3.30), identity was strictly regulated, with workers required to carry identity cards, and subjected to frequent checks in keeping with the official pronouncement that: 'Il ne pourra être employé dans l'imprimerie des

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[97] See: *Lettre des administrateurs du département de Police au Comité de surveillance [...] par le sieur Charles-César Petit, graveur, rue Saint-Germain-de-Auxerrois, qui dénonce les propositions à lui faites par des inconnus, de fabriquer une planche des assignats, et qui voulaient le mener dîner, le jour de la Fédération, chez le suisse du Bois de Boulogne ...*, 22 July 1792, A.N. F^7 4590. Petit was also accused of having false identity documents.

[98] *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, ou la justice* [written over 'la mort']. *Le Directoire du Département de la Nievre à la commission des administrations civiles, police et tribunaux. A Nevers le 18 messidor l'an 3 de la République Française, une, indivisible et imperisable*, Manuscript letter in: A.N. F^7 3494

[99] For instance, in one arrest report we read how the ownership of a certificat could defuse accusations of fraud. *Interrogatoire pa MM.Benoît Gondicheau et François-Joseph Lecamus, membres de Conseil général de la Commune, de quatre détenus de Sainte-Pélagie, savoir [...] François Sabat, aubergiste, arrêté, le 4 août, au moment où il traversait le Louvre, sous pretexte qu'il était porteur et distributeur de faux billets patriotiques, lequel produit un certificat de la Section des Postes, attestant sa probité et son honorabilité*, 29th September 1792, A.N. W252.

administrations nationales aucun ouvrier qui n'auroit pas sa carte de citoyen, ou un passe-port s'il arrive des départemens, ou un congé s'il vient des armées.'[100] The penalty for non-compliance was, in the year II, severe:

> Le ministre ayant approuvé l'état, les ordres signés de lui seront portés par un inspecteur aux citoyens requis, lesquels, en cas de désobéissance, seront dénoncés aux comités révolutionnaires de leurs sections, pour être traités comme suspects.[101]

Describing printing as 'cet art sublime', a mémoire from year III attached to a petition from the printers of Paris stressed printing's unique role as 'préparateur et auteur de notre Révolution, créateur de la République.'[102] The author tells how disastrous Robespierre's monopoly was for the printing trade, specifically the restructuring of the various national printing institutions. The hazard posed by the division of the two printers of the Agence des Loix and the Administrations Nationales is here cast in terms of its effect on the book trade, in particular the book's status as a commodity circulating in exchange for money:

> La France ne fournira plus de livres à l'étranger; les livres français s'imprimeront chez l'étranger; Paris et les Départemens les achetèront de l'étranger; et cette branche de commerce qui faisait circuler en France le numéraire de l'étranger; fera circuler chez l'étranger le numéraire de la France.[103]

Friction within the institutions charged with printing official documents was long-standing. The former Imprimerie Royale, which had been responsible for printing acts of government under Anisson Duperron's management, was, despite its renaming as the Imprimerie du Louvre, frequently accused of harbouring workers with aristocratic sympathies – suspected of having fired on the people at the Tuileries on August 10th 1792, their director was forced to appeal to the Assembly on behalf of his employees.[104]

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[100] M.Monnot, *Rapport fait au nom du comité des finances...d'un projet de réglement d'organisation pour l'Imprimerie des Administrations Nationales, mise sous la surveillance du Ministre de l'Intérieur par le décret du 27 frimaire*, Paris, Year II, p. 3.
[101] M.Monnot, ibid., p. 9.
[102] *Mémoire sur les inconvéniens et les dangers des deux Imprimeries de l'agence des Loix et des Administrations Nationales, Renvoyé par décret du 22 pluviôse de l'an troisième, avec la pétition des imprimeurs de Paris, du même jour, au Comité de Législation, pour en faire un prompt rapport à la Convention Nationale*, Paris, Year III, p. 1.
[103] *Mémoire*, ibid., p. 6.
[104] A.Bernard, *Notice historique sur l'Imprimerie Nationale*, Paris, 1848, p. 58. This appeal can be read in the *Décret du 11 août 1792*, Paris, 1792.

On 27 frimaire year II (17th December 1793), following a decree of 25 brumaire (15th November), the lottery was suppressed, and from the debris of its workshops created the first governmental printers, the Imprimerie des Administrations Nationales.[105] This interchange of technology across print media is not unprecedented, as the case of the younger Anisson-Duperron's request to re-use assignat plates to make passports demonstrated. Despite this it is by no means insignificant as an appropriative gesture by which a technology associated with a discredited institution could be reclaimed by one validated by the Republic; a circulation of technology in the service of an altered circulation of print media. On 21 ventôse year III (11th March 1795) the workers of the Imprimerie des Administrations Nationales addressed a petition to the Convention fearing the incorporation and centralisation of the printers into the Hôtel Penthièvre, which following a decree of 8 pluviôse year III (27th January 1795) was known as the Imprimerie Nationale, reuniting the Imprimerie du Louvre and the Imprimerie du Bulletin des Lois, responsible for the production of the journal of that name. The Imprimerie des Administrations Nationales claimed in their defence that their establishment, by employing nearly three hundred people, was beneficial to the Republic.[106]

However, decrees of 18 germinal (7th April), 21 prairial (9th June) and 8 pluviôse (28th January 1796) successively recommended that printed material paid for by the state should no longer be made anywhere other than the newly formed Imprimerie de la République, sparking revolt amongst Parisian printers who argued that it was an institution based upon privilege, and that the market should be opened up to speculation and free circulation of commodities. Finally, the Imprimerie des Administrations Nationales was indeed united with the Imprimerie de la République at the Hôtel Penthièvre, a formulation which remained in place until Napoleon's reorganisation of the Imprimerie Imperiale.[107]

[105] Anisson-Duperron's involvement in this procedure is interesting, his name allowing for many satirical opportunities (a 'dupe' was the common name for a participant in a rigged or fraudulent game).
[106] A.Bernard, op. cit., p. 76.
[107] A.Bernard, ibid., pp. 77-80.

The institutions responsible for the manufacture of administrative and identity documents were as accountable as any other to the political demands of the day, their organisation and use changing in response to the increasing centralisation of French bureaucracy, and the desire to do away with Old Regime associations. The technology with which national identity documents were made was likewise open to debate and re-use, and had the potential to alter significantly the meaning of the end result; the document basing its claims to authority on the conditions of its material construction.

Commemorating Citizens

Revolutionary certification achieved its most explicitly propagandistic use in the form of certificates given to prominent or virtuous citizens, or as commemoration for a heroic deed or involvement in other activity ideologically useful to the Republic. Such certificates also marked individual presence at specific places and times, such as attendance at a festival.[108] They were therefore implicitly historical, claiming a past for the revolutionary individual which both depended upon and popularised a collective recognition of significant events. Unlike passports which projected forwards to the future voyage, these certificates required recollection and re-enactment, authorising the event or person commemorated as 'historical'. In this capacity they function, as I have already suggested, as 'honorific' portraiture, validating an individual's anterior action as endorsement of their present status, the amount of descriptive information reduced to a series of signatures, avoiding the all-seeing eye of passport description.

The most immediate and significant bout of this form of revolutionary certification followed the storming of the Bastille on July 14th 1789, although later participatory events, such as the civic oaths taken by priests or attendance at the Tuileries on 10th August 1792 similarly required official recognition. The construction of the *Vainqueurs de la Bastille* was a highly mediated act, orchestrated by the likes of Palloy in relation to his commodification of the materiality of the prison, but also by the paper confirmation of the Vainqueurs' deeds. After much initial celebration and the sporadic issuance of medals, in late July 1789 a committee comprising the Bastille conquerors Dusaulx, Oudart, La Crosnière, Thuriot, La Grey and Desmond

finalised plans to compile a definitive inventory of all those involved in the attack on the prison.[109] These Vainqueurs were to be officially recognised and presented with a signed and sealed certificate attesting to their participation. In addition they were allowed to add the title 'Vainqueur de la Bastille' to their signatures, and were provided with access to a range of 'official' merchandise, from signet rings in the shape of a Bastille to rifle slings engraved with the names of their bearers. Demonstrating the duality of authorship with which such certification operated, these awards both certify the Vainqueurs themselves, and accord them a certifying agency within the Revolution. The names of the Bastille conquerors accumulate an intense rhetorical power, literally emblazoned across their chests, whilst their signatures and seals, markers of authorship and individual identity, merge with shared Bastille symbolism to produce a new political creation, the Vainqueur, easily recognised by all. As Lüsebrink and Reichardt point out: 'Until 1795, active participation in the storming of the Bastille remained an almost obligatory means of establishing and justifying revolutionary identity among political activists.'[110]

Indeed, Vainqueur status was also a useful tool for those who were politically active in a less conventional sense. One Jean-Baptise Poupart-Beaubourg, for instance, published a large poster, at his own expense, appealing for information from anyone who could defend him against the charges of counterfeiting assignats of which he was accused, and currently being held in La Force.[111] Signing off as a 'Vainqueur de la Bastille', Poupart-Beaubourg constantly references the destroyed prison, which is consistently capitalised in the text, and compared to l'Abbaye, its alleged modern day equivalent. Turning the counter-revolutionary implications of counterfeiting against his captors, suggesting that it is they who were responsible for the counterfeiting of which he is accused, Poupart-Beaubourg's claims become increasingly desperate and far-fetched, and it is clear that he assumes his role in the storming of the Bastille to be his best bet for liberation. Elsewhere, Vainqueurs

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[108] For instance the commemorative medals and certificates awarded to all members of the National Guard who took part in the festival of Fédération, 14th July 1790.

[109] H.-J.Lüsebrink and R.Reichardt, *The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom*, Durham and London, 1997, p. 87.

[110] H.-J.Lüsebrink and R.Reichardt, ibid., p. 96.

[111] J.-B.Poupart-Beaubourg, *Quatre mille huit cents liv. a gagner. Grand jugement au tribunel criminel du département, le 19 du courant, de l'eternel J.B.Poupart-Beaubourg [...] accusé, dénoncé depuis quatre ans, promené, depuis trois ans, de cachots en cachots, traduit depuis deux ans, de Tribunaux en Tribunaux, par les plus fiers soutiens de la monarchie constitutionelle, n'a pas encore expié ses forfaits*, Paris, 1794. I can find no record of the outcome of this case.

performed a socially stabilising function, punctuating many revolutionary festivals, often at their own instigation. As Colin Lucas notes, their presence at large gatherings provided a useful means of breaking down large and potentially dangerous crowds into distinct, socially sanctified, heroic individuals. This process, Lucas claims, made the revolutionary crowd 'safe'.[112] Although the originary point from which this social control developed was the violent overthrow of the Bastille, it is clear that the Vainqueurs were to be constructed as socially useful, heroic citizens, an action in which their certification participated.

The certificates offered to the eight-hundred and sixty-three official Vainqueurs took the form of a lengthy printed 'preambule' describing in detail the events for which they were to be recognised, within which were left spaces for the individual's name, a variety of official signatures, and two seals (Ill. 3.31). This text was bordered by a pair of printed doric columns bearing military attributes and allegorical figures of the Republic, and, in the centre, a representation of the Bastille, surrounded by cannon, drums and broken chains, and topped by a cockerel. At the top of the document a disembodied crown and laurel wreath flanked a radiating trio of fleur-de-lys, below the issuing headline 'Assemblée Nationale'.

The certification of the Vainqueurs extended in some cases to former prisoners of the Bastille. Nowhere is it more explicit than in the case of Henri Masers de Latude, the erstwhile prisoner whose case was taken up with glee by revolutionaries in the absence of any adequate recent captives. As only seven prisoners were found in the Bastille at the time of its storming (four of whom were returned straight back to jail for counterfeiting), Latude, who had been imprisoned from 1749 to 1784 after a failed attempt to defraud the Marquise de Pompadour, was made something of a hero and was immortalised in a portrait by Vestier now in the Musée Carnavalet (Ill. 3.32), which was reproduced in great quantities as an etching by the same artist. His crime had been to offer advance information of a

[112] C.Lucas, 'Crowds and Politics' in: C.Lucas ed. *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture: Vol 2, The Political Culture of the French Revolution*, Oxford, 1988, p. 282. Elsewhere, however, complaints arose about the lack of distinction afforded to Vainqueurs in the revolutionary ceremonial, see the anecdotal evidence in: A.Rillatte, *Grande Confédération entre les Bretons et les vainqueurs de la Bastille sur la route de Rambouillet*, place of publication unknown, n.d. cited in: M.Tourneux, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française*, vol I, Paris, 1890, p. 203, document 1702.

conspiracy to poison the Marquise, an intrigue which he had manufactured himself in order to extort a reward. A compulsive writer and self-publicist, Latude swiftly published an exhaustive account of his time in the Bastille, a heroic tale of suffering which glamourised his many escape attempts whilst playing down his initial, dissimulative, crime. The portrait itself refers only to the 1756 *lettre de cachet* which had extended Latude's detention, yet the representation of this document, in the bottom left-hand corner of the image, confirms its status as certificate, authenticating the sitter's connection to the freshly-atomised Bastille. Unsurprisingly, the home-made ladder with which Latude had tried to escape was exhibited by various impresarios, whilst Palloy included miniature versions of it in the tableaux which accompanied his travelling Bastille stones.[113]

The story of Latude is that of a man keen to be author of his own identity. Vestier's portrait shows as much, the sitter, ladder in hand, pointing at the Bastille he claims as his own. In many ways Latude, alongside the inevitable Palloy, was author of the 'Bastille'. Honorific in every sense, this portrait inscribes Latude as owner of the Bastille, a building whose status as physical property is undermined by its continuing destruction even as its mythic reputation flourishes in the absence of an object. Implicated in this process is Latude's desire to avenge himself publicly on those responsible for his incarceration. Following the destruction of the statue of Louis XV on the Place de la Révolution on August 10th 1792, Latude requested and received the bronze right hand of the king, the hand which had originally signed his arrest warrant. Appropriating the king's original act of certification, Latude negates it by his authorship of the fragment, and of the fragmentation of the prison which symbolised the monarchical despotism for which he blamed his imprisonment.

In the year VIII (1799-1800), Latude offered to the nation a proposal to dispose of the national debt by reintroducing assignats.[114] As this debt had been incurred by the military defence of the French people, Latude considered it fair that the people

[113] H.-J.Lüsebrink and R.Reichardt, op. cit., pp. 112-116 offers a full account of Latude's story. In an indication of their shared purpose, Latude is alleged to have joined Palloy in examining the dungeons of the Bastille the day after its invasion, where they found the famous ladder made from old shirts.

[114] H.Mazère Latude, *Projet de Coalition de 83 départemens de la France, pour sauver la République en moins de trois mois*, Paris, an VIII.

assemble to issue notes bearing five per cent interest in the name of a 'coalition départementale'. Each department should, according to this plan, offer a certain amount of paper, to be printed as notes, mapping the geography of administration directly onto money. Latude recognised the reiterative, transformative nature of this project, for 'au haut de chaque feuille, il y aura l'empreinte d'un phénix, tenant dans son bec des balances, et ses pieds posés sur un compas.'[115]

Yet these notes were significantly different to the assignats destroyed in 1796, as Latude made clear in a detailed exegesis of their formal characteristics. On each note, big or small, there should be printed the seal of the department and the signature 'de la propre main' of the departmental president. Below an imprint of the eponymous phoenix was to run the legend 'oui, sans mon secours, la France eût été exterminée. Et pour la sauver, je renais de mes cendres'.[116] After this ran the main text, listing the department which issued the note, followed by this statement of integrity, to be filled in as applicable:

> Je soussigné, natif de Paris, ou de Metz, ou d'Agde, etc., marchand épicier, ou négociant, ou cultivateur, résident à Paris, telle rue, tel numéro, ou à Lion, ou à Montaguac, je promets payer au porteur, à trois mois de vue, la somme de cent, ou de trois, ou de cinq cents francs, etc.[117]

Following a signature and date, the president of the department, the president of the municipality, and the mayor of the town were to make similar claims to honour and recognise this promissory note, attended by their relevant seals.

The wealth of personal and geographical information, authorising seals, dates and signatures on Latude's projected money, inserted in pre-conceived spaces in the text, resembles nothing so much as the revolutionary passport. Money has succumbed to the excesses of revolutionary administration (although the time and expense involved in such a project no doubt ensured that it was never taken seriously), revealing paper notes of which Latude could confidently claim 'elles soient plus solides que celles de toutes les banques de l'Univers.'[118] As with both

[115] H.M.Latude, ibid., pp. 6-7.
[116] H.M.Latude, ibid., p. 7.
[117] H.M.Latude, ibid., pp. 7-8.
[118] H.M.Latude, ibid., p. 8.

passports and the original assignats, and contrary to print media's conventional denigration in artistic hierarchies for the same reason, a multiple authorship is invoked as a sign of multiplied authority rather than a fragmentation or dilution of agency. Latude's project demonstrates how far-reaching the will to regulate the circulation of individuals could be, the desire for a fiercely regulated authenticity and authorship arresting any possibility of a freely circulating money. It is, perhaps, unsurprising that it should be Latude of all men who should make such an elaborate claim for the universality of the certificate.

In Walter Benjamin's classic analysis of the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction, he observes how:

> The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning [...] Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object[119]

This reflexive hypothesis suggests the relationship of the certificate to the historical field, its authentication and containment of past events. Although Benjamin is ostensibly concerned with the historical testimony of the art object, in terms of the history of its possession (or provenance), I am interested in the lapse in authority which he predicts as a consequence of reproduction. Indeed I would go so far as to say that what we see here is, conversely, the use of reproductive media to negotiate an authenticity which a singular and 'original' document could not achieve. Even so, the reproductive element of such an object serves primarily as a base for the addition of the specific and 'original' manuscript and details particular to the subject. The comparative fortunes of figures such as Latude demonstrate the flexibility of authority during this period, and its dependence upon a diverse range of documentation; a paper trail of competing significations which shows the boundaries between 'historical testimony' and 'authority of the object' to be fluid, and susceptible to radical change.

[119] W.Benjamin, op. cit., p. 215.

CHAPTER FOUR

'One great play-table': games and spectatorship in revolutionary France.

'Your legislators, in everything new,' proceeded Edmund Burke in familiarly combative style, 'are the very first who have founded a commonwealth upon gaming, and infused this spirit into it as its vital breath.' According to Burke:

> The great object in these politics is to metamorphose France from a great kingdom into one great play-table; to turn its inhabitants into a nation of gamesters; to make speculation as extensive as life; to mix it with all its concerns; and to divert the whole of the hopes and fears of the people from their usual channels into the impulses, passions, and superstitions of those who live on chances.[1]

Burke's assault on the National Assembly and its dissenting supporters in Britain appears familiar to us in its rhetorical inversion of normative models of behaviour.[2] In his vision of revolutionary France as a disordered world-turned-upside-down, Burke invoked a carnivalisation of everyday life in which the running of the functions of state on the random and hazardous principles of gambling was as far from the ideal as could be imagined.[3] When risk becomes as 'extensive as life', Burke intimated, solidity, security, tradition and permanence are threatened to the benefit of a form of circulation which can be understood only as somehow excessive, or transgressive. That this should be the 'vital breath' powering the body politic was a premonition of Mercier's cynical appraisal of speculation and gambling at the Palais Royal as the 'systole' and 'diastole' of the nation.[4]

If France was indeed transformed into 'one great play-table', it is certain that it was not limited to the playing of one type of game. Burke was addressing speculators

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[1] E.Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* [1790], London and New York, 1967, p. 189.
[2] Notable amongst British dissenters was Rev. Dr.Richard Price, whose speech to the Nonconformist Revolutionary Society had provoked Burke to publish his *Reflections*.
[3] See: J.H.Johnson, 'Versailles, Meet Les Halles: Masks, Carnival and the French Revolution', *Representations*, 73, (Winter 2001). Johnson documents the rejection of carnival after 1789 as a ritual made superfluous by a permanent and continuous Revolution. Nevertheless, he acknowledges a parallel continuation in the revolutionary imagination of discourses relating to carnival, from Hébert's radical scatology, to the 1790 banning of masks. For a general study of the carnival and carnivalesque in France see: C.Gaignebet and M.-C.Florentin, *Le Carnaval: essais de mythologie populaire*, Paris, 1974.
[4] L.-S.Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, quoted in: S.L.Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly: Modern Life in Napoleonic France*, New Haven and London, 1995, p. 60.

in paper money, particularly those whose deception took place at a national level, yet games were not uniform in meaning. Indeed, the meanings of games were in constant circulation, altering according to context and type. In this chapter I will examine some of the varieties of game and gaming practice which appeared with the Revolution; came under renewed scrutiny or changed their previous meaning at this time; or offered a potent format for political opposition. I should point out here that my definition of games includes not only those objects easily categorised as such, but a range of more generalised social practices, such as cheating, trickery or deception, whose ludic presence is felt in many areas of print culture. The homology between games and their social or socialising contexts almost goes without saying, such is its centrality to the work of thinkers as diverse as Huizinga and de Certeau.[5] The social tension involved in different models of ludic practice was perhaps expressed most fluently by Marshall McLuhan, who, echoing Burke's politico-corporeal analogy, argued that:

> Games are popular art, collective, social *reactions* to the main drive or action of any culture. Games, like institutions, are extensions of social man and of the body politic, as technologies are extensions of the animal organism. Both games and technologies are counter-irritants or ways of adjusting to the stress of the specialized actions that occur in any social group. As extensions of the popular response to the workaday stress, games become faithful models of a culture. They incorporate both the action and the reaction of whole populations in a single dynamic image.[6]

However, notwithstanding his acknowledgement of the visual character of games, McLuhan emphasises their reactive aspect, and any dynamic or constitutive potential, or ability to form social groups rather than merely mirror them, is minimised. Instead, games incorporate the 'action' of social groups passively, only in so far as it provides a stimulus for the necessary 'reaction'.

In this chapter, I will argue for an understanding of games and gaming during the French Revolution as a social phenomenon inseparable from the 'real' events of

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[5] See: J.Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, translated from German, Boston, 1960 [1944]; M.de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley, CA, 1984. Although Huizinga begins his book with the statement that 'play is older than culture, for culture, however inadequately defined, always presupposes human society, and animals have not waited for man to teach them their playing' (p. 1.), the title of his work, and its subsequent content, focus on the relationship of play-forms to developed human societies.

[6] M.McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 1964, p. 255. Original italics.

everyday social life. Games, which are not necessarily either 'fun' or 'useful', are a method of social formation, and are by no means limited to a representative function, but rather inform and inflect behavioural models. Furthermore, the modes of interpretation and organisation intrinsic to games are transposed across a wide range of cultural production, with significant impact upon, and social role within, the political culture of the French Revolution. This 'panludism' does not presuppose a psychological or sociological approach, already well-rehearsed in numerous surveys of the gaming impulse, including psychoanalytical investigations developed by theorists as diverse as Freud and Melanie Klein, to the *Documents* school of Bataille and Caillois.[7] There is an extensive secondary literature on the function of games in general, and in eighteenth-century France in particular, abetted by a far greater mass of primary sources relating to the prohibition, use or meaning of various types of game.[8] Where my investigation departs from previous studies is its synthesis of social or historical inquiry with an examination of the way in which games operate within a self-consciously visual field.

The playing of games, however motivated, involves a circulation of significant components, often images, in the form of money or counters, against a background which is mapped out as a hermetic terrain. This background, often a board, pitch, or other environment, may be highly detailed or far more basically imagined. Sometimes, it is not contained within a singular object, but occurs across a range of cultural practices. Of course, games may be verbal, auditory or metaphorical. Nevertheless, the milieu of a particular game always requires some form of imaginative setting, acknowledged by all participants, often providing a visual territory within which the game may proceed.

In addition, games are rarely private occasions, and usually assume some degree of spectatorial involvement. When conducted only between participants, without an audience, it was to be hoped that the game was being played for educational reasons, that by 'looking and learning', the participants might emulate the ideological message of the game. If not, and if no non-participating spectators

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[7] I have borrowed the evocative word 'panludisme' from: J.-J.Wunenburger, *La fête, le jeu et le sacré*, Paris, 1977, p. 193.

[8] Notable recent contributions to the study of games in eighteenth-century France include: J.Dunkley, *Gambling: a social and moral problem in France, 1685-1792*, Oxford, 1985 and F.Freundlich, *Le monde du jeu à Paris, 1715-1800*, Paris, 1995.

were in attendance, it is likely that the game would in any case be subject to surveillance from those to whom it posed a threat. Such distinctions were frequently enforced by the different material characteristics and typologies of individual games. In the French Revolution, all games involve a gaze, whether external, or issuing from the game itself.

Without wanting to generalise too far at this stage, I would like to posit the idea of a 'ludic gaze' – a form of interpretative looking which analyses images with reference to the particular social formations thrown up by game culture, and which, indeed, may impose a game-like quality on images, even those images which may not appear immediately conducive to such a reading. Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque, its transgressive deployment of Rabelaisian belly-laughs in the name of social insurrection, independent of the carnival period itself, shares some similarities with this idea, although Bakhtin's analysis is, as Umberto Eco has pointed out, dependent upon a cyclical manoeuvre in which Lent always returns to dampen the riotous party. In other words, carnival laughter is only tolerable as licensed revolt, organised within and according to the ideological imperatives of the dominant powers-that-be, the rules of the game, so to speak.[9] Yet carnival and game are not assimilable, despite the generalised attempt, common to all games, to outmanoeuvre or fool a site of power. A ludic gaze need not have any strictly revolutionary potential, which Bakhtin, writing in the shadow of Stalinist repression, was so keen to claim for Early Modern carnival culture. Indeed, as we shall see, a mode of looking which understood images against games could have a distinctly counter-revolutionary intention. Where games and carnival come together is their shared application of trickery, masking and violence. If not revolutionary, as such, this form of allusive spectatorship is definitely *of the Revolution*, and its diverse attempts to manage and subvert the seen world.

[9] M.M.Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Hélène Iswolsky, Bloomington, 1984 [1965] and U.Eco, 'The "Frames" of Comic Freedom' in: U.Eco, V.V.Ivanov, and M.Rector, *Carnival!*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 1-9. Rabelais was recognised by Ginguené as a precursor to the Revolution, although Bakhtin (pp. 119-120) critiques Ginguené's assumption that Rabelais was wholly antagonistic to royal power, viewing his ontology as defined instead by ambivalence. P-L.Ginguené, *De l'autorité de François Rabelais dans la Révolution présente et dans la constitution civile du clergé; ou, Institutions royales, politiques et ecclésiastiques tirées de Gargantua et Pantagruel*, Paris, 1791 and E.Guitton ed., *Ginguené: Idéologue et médiateur*, Rennes, 1995, pp. 194-196.

Risking it all: gambling and the politics of Revolution

In 1792, the Parisian deputy Jean Dusaulx reported to the National Convention his project for the suppression of gambling, an activity which for a century or more had been alternately maligned and enjoyed by the authorities of Ancien-Régime France. In his text Dusaulx, a *Vainqueur de la Bastille* and member of the committee to certify other virtuous *Vainqueurs*,[10] recognises that gambling is a universal vice, which 'les voyageurs attestant que l'on en trouve d'un pôle à l'autre, et depuis le Japon, jusqu'aux bords des torrens de l'Amérique.'[11] Only in those areas untouched by the corrupting influences of the modern city may one encounter a 'noble savage' unscarred by the detrimental effects of the *jeux de hasard* and *loteries*. However, this admission does not distract the author from the specificity of his task, for it is France, moreover a France 'totally disfigured' by its long submission to despotism, which he seeks to regenerate with his proposal. This is no easy assignment, for as Dusaulx suggests, the overturning of Bastilles and the expulsion of kings is far easier than the reformation of morals, which cannot be accomplished by the issue of a 'dry' law alone, requiring instead a more affirmative action.[12]

Interestingly, Dusaulx recalls the revolutionary festival, its previous incarnations and its subsequent regeneration, as the most obvious analogue for the game (and the vice it represented). He remembers how:

> Donner une fête, il y a peu de temps, ce n'étoit guère, chez-nous, que donner à jouer; c'étoit, après bien des tortures, livrer les victimes au désespoir, et causer souvent plus de maux, en un seul jour, qu'un demi-siècle n'en pourrait amener, selon le cours des vicissitudes humaines.[13]

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[10] Dusaulx's *L'Insurrection parisienne* [1790], which related an 'eyewitness' report of the events of June to September 1789, was heavily quoted by Chamfort in his textual narratives for the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*. D.McCallam, *Chamfort and the French Revolution: A Study in Form and Ideology*, Oxford, 2002, p. 64.

[11] J.Dusaulx, *Convention Nationale. Rapport et projet de décret, sur la suppression des jeux de hasard, des Tripots et des Loteries: présentés à la Convention Nationale, au nom de son comité d'instruction publique*, Paris, 1792, pp. 3-4.

[12] J.Dusaulx, ibid., p. 3. Full quote reads: 'Quand il s'agit de la régénération d'un grand peuple, imbu d'anciens vices, et que le despotisme avoit totalement défiguré il ne suffit pas de fabriquer sèchement le texte d'un loi.'

[13] J.Dusaulx, ibid., p. 5. Dusaulx's reading complicates modern assimilations of festival and game, typified by Harvey Cox's statement that: 'la fête est un forme humaine de jeu'. H.Cox, *La fête des fous: essai théologique sur les notions de fête et de fantasie*, Paris, 1971, p. 2.

However, this situation is happily now no longer. 'Des fêtes!' he remarks with satisfaction, 'certes nous en aurons encore, mais de bien differentes: nous aurons celles de la *liberté*, de *l'égalité*; on rougira des autres.'[14] Unfortunately, the same transformation has not affected games, which, one feels, are bound to fail in Dusaulx's rhetoric: the salvation of the festival has after all been its distancing from the negative model of the game. Finally, he clarifies his point, stressing to the reader that 'Remarquons d'abord, que la passion du jeux fomentée dans les cours qui en furent les plus ardens foyers, est incompatible, sur-tout avec l'esprit républicain.'[15]

Dusaulx's description of games and gaming as fundamentally at odds with the revolutionary 'spirit' renders these objects and the activities which surround them at once political. Games are in this account essentially attributes of the revolutionary construct 'Ancien Régime', whilst the transformation of the *Loterie Royale* into the ostensibly Republican *Loterie Nationale* is viewed as yet another example of the dissimulation and subterfuge endemic to gaming and the institution from which it arose – it is a form of false consciousness or trace memory which must be immediately and unsympathetically expunged. A well-known print from 1789, *A faut esperer q'eu jeu la finira ben tot* (Ill. 4.1), makes explicit these Ancien Régime associations, a peasant carrying the representatives of the nobility and clergy hoping that the 'game' of feudal exploitation will soon end. This interrelation of game and political process is suggested more directly in a *Loto des trois ordres* (Ill. 4.2), a stylised gaming board featuring at its head a figural representation of a game in progress, and in an anonymous print representing Necker playing a fraudulent sleight of hand with French finances (Ill. 4.3). As a whole, Dusaulx's project is an attempt to curtail the free circulation (of money and players) which games required. Indeed, liberality of movement was at the heart of the defence adopted by the organisers of *loteries*, who argued that playing games was a matter of 'right', that no-one was forced to participate, and that the stifling of unrestricted circulation would in fact have positively detrimental effects upon the social body, for was it not these self-same lotteries which had funded the construction of the Panthéon, Saint-Sulpice, and the École Militaire, not to mention numerous hospitals, workhouses and orphanages?

[14] J.Dusaulx, ibid., p. 5. Original italics.
[15] J.Dusaulx, ibid., p. 5.

Dusaulx has little time for these 'monumens de fausse grandeur,'[16] reserving particular scorn for the *maisons de santé* set up to help the victims of gambling with funds accrued from this very activity; an abominable vicious circle that is, for Dusaulx, the very opposite of 'free' circulation. Indeed, in response to the claims for social utility made by the organisers of lotteries, Dusaulx rails against all forms of gaming as essentially unjust, 'et par consequence insociable'[17] – a statement which serves to dim our recognition that by politicising games to such a degree he is in fact affirming their socialised and socialising qualities. Clearly, a perceptible tension has arisen between the licit and illicit, and the relationship of these degrees of illegality to determinations of moral and political propriety.

Central to Dusaulx's thesis is a perceptible anxiety about the implications of free circulation. Interestingly, this is understood in direct relation to the role of print media in this process, and it is here that Dusaulx's rhetorical paranoia, his anxiety of circulation, reaches a peak:

> Les journaux, les gazettes, publient les *numéros* gagnans. Les noms des favoris de la fortune, volant de bouche en bouche, redoublent les desirs exaltés, ameutent, de tous côtés, de nouveaux concurrens. Pour achever de subjuger l'imagination, on affiche de nouvelles espérances sur tous les piliers, dans tous les carrefours.[18]

* * *

Dusaulx's text was the culmination of a lengthy attempt to secure the prohibition of gambling in France. In this he was not alone, as moral arbiters and victims of rigged games alike welcomed the Revolution as a chance to purge the deviance which gambling represented. As one anonymous author explained: 'depuis long-tems mon âme & ma plume brûloient du désir de faire connoître au public le danger des jeux, & les crimes de leurs plus vils suppôts.'[19] Conversely, the Revolution had

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[16] J.Dusaulx, ibid., p. 30.

[17] J.Dusaulx, ibid., p. 8.

[18] J.Dusaulx, ibid., pp. 26-27. Original italics. These 'nouvelles espérances' would have been spread to a significant extent by the *colporteurs* responsible for selling lottery tickets and other assorted prints. Colporteurs were, as Francis Freundlich has pointed out, frequently subject to suspicion or attack, and were required to register on an annual basis with the book trade inspectors. F.Freundlich, op. cit., p. 152 and p. 159.

[19] M.M******, *Dénonciation faite au public, sur les dangers du jeu, ou les crimes de tous les Jouers, Croupiers, Tailleurs de Pharaons, Banquiers, Bailleurs de fonds, de Biribi, de Trente-un, de Parfaite-Egalité, & autres jeux non moins fripons, dévoilés sans aucune réserve; l'on y trouve les*

created opportunities for those eager to make fast money by organising, bankrolling or playing games of risk. As John Dunkley has observed, games were considered perverse and destructive at the point when they ceased to be a mere diversion and became a profession in themselves.[20] New 'professional' categories emerged, parodic inversions of conventional occupations, whose close relationship to their licit namesakes was similar to that of the printer to the counterfeiter, with whom gamers were often associated, even by gamers themselves.[21] The 'bankers' of the game of risk were, in anti-gambling rhetoric, cast as ravenous butchers of Parisian architecture, and the social fabric for which the city metaphorically stood:

> Ce qu'ils appellent la colonne du banquier est un hydre insatiable qui devoré les pontes, & mine petit-à-petit notre superbe capitale qui sans s'en douter, doit plutôt sa ruine à ces inexorables escrocs qu'aux effets de la révolution.[22]

A pun on the word 'ponte', which in gambling slang was a player of a game of risk (also known as a 'dupe'), gave an alternative meaning to the devouring of 'bridges' – in his eagerness to attack the profiteers of gambling, this author indulged in some (word) games of his own.

The most feared forms of gambling were those which encouraged a submission to irrational chance and ludicrously weighted odds analogous to the Benthamite etymology of what, in his famous analysis, Clifford Geertz calls 'deep play'.[23] For Bentham, 'deep play' is a form of gaming in which the stakes are so heavily weighted against the participant that any involvement contradicts utilitarian social responsibility. By extension, such a surrender to the game is immoral and all such games should, according to Bentham, be banned by law.[24] In the context of Balinese cock-fighting and anthropological absorption, Geertz takes Bentham's

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noms, surnoms, demeures, origine & moeurs de toutes les personnes des deux sexes qui composent les maisons de jeux, appellées maisons de société, Paris, 1791, p. 3.

[20] J.Dunkley, 'Les jeux de hasard et la loi au XVIIIe siècle' in: *Le jeu au XVIIIe siècle. Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence, 30 avril, 1er et 2 mai 1971*, Aix-en-Provence, 1976, p. 10.

[21] A.Goudar, *L'Histoire des Grecs, ou ceux qui corrigent la fortune au jeu*, La Haye, 1757, p. 2. Goudar argues that: 'Qu'un Marchand ait des Livres faux pour tromper le Public, ou qu'un Grec ait de fausses cartes pour tromper les dupes, cela revient précisément au même.'

[22] M.M******, op. cit., p. 7.

[23] C.Geertz, 'Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight', in: C.Mukerji and M.Schudson eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991, pp. 239-278.

[24] C.Geertz, ibid., p. 254.

critique as a starting-point for an examination of the active engagement of players in 'deep play'; their abandonment or disregard of the exchange-value of money squandered on cock-fighting, for a hitherto unacknowledged moral or social use-value in the process of circulation itself.

The 'deepest' play, following both Bentham and Geertz's formulations, was represented during the French Revolution by a few infamous games. *Biribi*, a player-loses-all affair, was allegedly introduced into France by the Venetian ambassador, to help pay his debts, and was known, euphemistically, as the 'tombeau des Grecs'.[25] In popular mythology however, the game was considered the invention of Le Chapelier, one of the main protagonists of the print *L'Homme aux assignats*, where he appears dressed in a suit derived from a numbered *biribi* board, with a croupier's stick underarm (Ill. 1.26). Le Chapelier was responsible, in satirical rhetoric, for gambling with French finances, and *biribi* was the most appropriate attribute for his crime. In *Le législateur du biribi* (Ill. 4.4), distributed by Villeneuve, this association is made explicit, its claims to truth derived from its repeated rearticulation within print culture. The print incorporates a quotation from the *Revolutions de Paris*, attacking 'ce député breton, qui met à ses pieds le bonnet de la liberté,' featuring in the centre a portrait of Le Chapelier overlaid above a crossed set of croupier's tools, which here take on a heraldic function, obscuring some of the numbered squares. Interestingly, although the function of the image is clearly derogatory, the print is but one step away from being itself a fully-functioning *biribi* board.

The habitual surveillance and frequent raids of *maisons de jeu* encouraged the organisers of games to plant lookouts, and as often as not, to prepare elaborate defences in advance.[26] For instance, one Léonard, a carpet merchant whose apartment in the Hôtel Radziwill was subject to a police raid, tried to diffuse accusations of gambling by claiming that his companions were present to buy a set of prints which the tenant had put on sale, whilst elsewhere, gaming equipment was adapted to dissimulation.[27] For instance, gaming tables often had double functions

[25] M.M******, op. cit., p. 7. 'Grec' was slang for a hardened or professional gambler.
[26] See for instance, the case of the 'femme Sainte-Aramanthe' whose gaming house was alleged to be a haunt of refractory preists and nobles, and who repeatedly appeared to know on which days raids were taking place. A.N. F^7 4775^{12}
[27] F.Freundlich, op.cit., p. 80.

to disguise their true purpose, the addition or removal of a green felt surface quickly transforming the tables' meaning. Amongst the primary motivations behind the police confiscation of gaming technologies, beyond the obvious desire for evidence, and the prevention of future use, was the need to keep abreast of innovations in gaming camouflage.[28] The pessimism of Darracq, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, is indicative of the clear affinities drawn between this sort of dissimulation and the criminal or morally degenerate character of the inhabitants and frequenters of the gaming houses, who were constantly occupied with tricking the eye of judicial surveillance:

> [...] la police y a sans cesse les yeux.....; et n'y voyant jamais ni l'homme de génie, ni l'artiste laborieux, ni le spéculateur loyal, ni le patriote: mais rencontrant toujours dans ces égoûts immondes l'oisif, le sot, l'agioteur, le banqueroutier, l'escroc, le conspirateur..... les appréciant, elle les classe..... elle les surveille..... En vain, ces misérables entassent masque sur masque, essaieroient alors de se déguiser.[29]

The game of *biribi* involved betting on numerically marked squares or circles on a board, in the vain hope that a randomly drawn number would, if the same as the one chosen, accrue a large payback. Croupiers invariably fixed games, and the resentment and desperation this caused is reflected in police records. However, the appeal of, for example, the builder Jacques Michel, requesting the return of his watch, presently lodged with a banker of a game of *biribi* on the rue Traversière-Saint-Honoré, or the complaint of the merchant Ferdinand Milner, who lost his money at *biribi* and was forced to leave by armed heavies, almost certainly did not result in the return of their investments.[30] Although *maisons de jeu* were carefully monitored by the police and their many spies, this surveillance network was largely overwhelmed by the sheer quantity of illegal ludic activity taking place. In a last, desperate attempt to secure justice, Milner reiterated the details of his undignified

[28] F.Freundlich, ibid., p. 125.
[29] *Opinion de Darracq, membre du Conseil des Cinq-Cents, contre le projet prohibitif des jeux de hasard, présenté par André (du Bas-Rhin), au nom d'une commission spéciale, séance du 18 messidor l'an 7*, Paris, 1799, pp. 16-17. Original punctuation.
[30] B.N. Mss., nouv. acq. fr. 2670, fol. 98, septembre 1789 and A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbal des commissaires de police (Butte-des-Moulins), 23 mars 1791.

exit from the game in the Palais Royal, this time adding that his principal assailant was black.[31]

The Chevalier de Jaucourt, writing in the *Encyclopédie*, suggested that 'La passion du jeu est une des plus funestres dont on puisse être possédé.' Furthermore, 'L'homme est si violemment agité par le jeu, qu'il ne peut plus supporter aucune autre occupation. Après avoir perdu sa fortune, il est condamné à s'ennuyer le reste de sa vie.'[32] Gambling is here imagined as illness, 'violently agitating' the player of the game with lasting effect. A similar interest in bodily degeneration animates the lengthy printed denunciations, listing active *maisons de jeu* around Paris. We read of one response to a heavy loss:

> À l'instant l'or & les billets coulent à grands flots du tableau dans leur caisse, l'un s'arrache les cheveux, l'autre brise sa cuillière, celui-ci fait des imprécations terribles, celui-là s'en va pâle comme la mort, pouvant à peine marcher, tant son âme est ferrée, tant son coeur est flétri.[33]

For this author, the actions of the bankers of illegal games (known as 'pigeons', because of their 'plumage') causes immediate physical harm to the player. However, the context of this passage's publication, a comprehensive 'outing' of gaming venues, predominantly surrounding the Palais Royal, is ambivalent. Despite the disapproving tone, this text displays much in common with contemporary tourist guides, plotting a course through the Palais Royal and its inhabitants which takes in all notable gaming sites, listing full addresses, biographical detail and types of game catered for. There is a gossipy tabloid enthusiasm in descriptions of Mme DuBarry's lackey, Dumoulin, at number thirty-three Palais Royal, who hand-selected croupiers and dupes for his mistress.[34] Or of Basset and Chocolat at number fourteen, the first a long-standing expert at billiards, the latter a 'joueur enragé' who would, the author claims, be better off back in his

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[31] A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbal des commissaires de police (Butte-des-Moulins), 4 mai 1791. Milner's assault by a black man would not have surprised police authorities, who, in keeping with racist orthodoxy, assumed black people to be more susceptible to the 'passions' which gambling excited.

[32] Chevalier de Jaucourt, 'Jeu' in: D.Diderot and J. le R.d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Tome 8, Neufchastel [Geneva], 1765, col888a.

[33] M.M******, op. cit., p. 21.

[34] M.M******, ibid., p. 12.

original profession of chocolate-making.[35] The list is exhaustive, with detail appropriate to a police spy's file, yet the effect is ambivalent, scarred by the possibility that the document is, in fact, a game itself: a guide to Parisian gambling in the guise of a prohibitionary tract. This is a reading supported by the publisher, Baxal's, self-description as a 'docteur dans tous les jeux.'[36]

The visibility of gambling was at the heart of the majority of attempts at its suppression, motivated by horror at the publicity which gambling managed to maintain, no doubt a by-product of the masking and subterfuge which allowed it to operate in close proximity to 'conventional' society. As Boissy d'Anglas warned, 'c'est sous vos yeux qu'ils se commettent; c'est autour de vous qu'ils se propagent.'[37] This spectatorial emphasis pervades the gambling experience, from inside and out, its fugitive and semi-obscured character paradoxically enforcing an intensified scrutiny.

Biribi, banned as early as 1719, and other related games of risk such as *Parfait-Égalité* or *Pharaon*, an invention of the revolutionary period, are representative of a 'deep play' which, although massively popular, appeared to conform to no social logic beyond the public sphere surrounding it, of which the above-mentioned *Dénonciation* is a case study.[38] All game-playing depends, to some degree, on the maintenance of a 'closed' universe within which the game and its attendant microtechnologies can function. Despite the Revolution's marginalisation of gambling and its claims on the high moral ground associated with less harmful forms of gaming, gamblers articulated a distinct moral code of their own. Publications such as Ange Goudar's 1757 *Histoire des Grecs* had dignified gambling with a history, and equated it with legal financial speculation. In Goudar's formulation: 'Qu'un Financier vole une somme par un trait de plume, ou qu'un Grec la filoute par un coup de Dez, je ne vois pas lequel des deux est le plus

[35] M.M******, ibid., p. 12.
[36] This text shares affinities with the dubious 'advice' literature circulating prior to revolutionary festivals. See for instance: *Avis aux confédérés des LXXXIII départemens sur les avantages et les dangers du séjour à Paris*, Paris, 1790.
[37] B.d'Anglas, *Corps Législatif. Conseil des Cinq-Cents. Motion d'ordre pour la répression des maisons de Jeu, séance du 19 brumaire de l'an V*, Paris, 1796, p. 1. Boissy's approach was later outlined in greater detail in: *Corps Législatif. Conseil des Cinq-Cents. Rapport sur la répression des maisons de Jeu, séance du 17 pluviôse l'an V*, Paris, 1797.
[38] Despite the banning of games throughout the eighteenth century, they for the most part resurfaced immediately with different names or superficially altered rules.

honnête homme.'[39] Deception is here imagined as an act of authorship, by pen or dice-throw. Reframed in a political climate in which hoarders and speculators could be subject to immediate local justice, all accumulations of capital, it seems, are theft.

Gambling, in common with all ludic practice, establishes communality, and depends upon a shared knowledge of conventions and symbolism.[40] Within the simulated environment of the game, participants take a sort of oath to abide by the rules.[41] Cheating, as Jean Sgard has noted, provides in this context a secondary game within a game, by which the participant may realise normatively thwarted desires for power.[42] For these reasons:

> La réprobation qui pèse sur la tricherie est donc double, sociale et morale: le tricheur est un traître qui rompte le pacte librement consenti; et il est un voleur, d'autant plus dangereux qu'il est hypocrite. De cette reprobation, le tricheur se libère en invoquant l'immoralité ou l'injustice du pacte; mais il lui arrivera aussi d'incriminer la société dont le jeu est l'image, et de rêver d'une autre société, égalitaire, amorale, cynique, à l'usage du jeu.[43]

The idea of the cheat or dissimulator disrupting a social pact reverberates through the pages of the Revolution's radical press, of which Marat's *Ami du peuple* is perhaps the most famous example. According to this discourse, all game playing implied cheating, and could therefore serve as an indicator of a similar duplicity elsewhere in the subject's life. In the games of this period, the most widespread cheating occurred not between players, or even between players and organisers, but between organisers and players. Games of risk were so endemically rigged that 'gambling' serves, as often as not, as a euphemism for 'cheating', simply one of the rules of the game, and a recognised part of the masochistic pact into which players entered. This, perhaps, is the most perverse aspect of the game, its greatest threat

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[39] A.Goudar, op. cit., p. 2.
[40] Games are, as Roger Caillois has observed, in every sense a form of secular ritual. See: R.Caillois, *L'homme et le sacré*, Paris, 1963 [1939], pp. 204-218
[41] It is coincidental, but certainly appropriate, that one of the greatest statements of revolutionary communality, the Tennis Court Oath of June 1789, was performed in a space constructed for the playing of games.
[42] J.Sgard, 'Tricher' in: *Le Jeu au XVIIIe siècle. Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence, 30 avril, 1er et 2 mai 1971*, Aix-en-Provence, 1976, p. 251.
[43] J.Sgard, ibid., p. 251.

to moral order – being tricked potentially functions, for the gambler, as a pleasurable experience.

Other than this, what could players hope to gain? To be 'deep play' in the Geertzian sense, this form of gambling must fulfil a social role, recognised by players and organisers alike as exceeding expectations of instantaneous financial profit. Of course, though, money was not irrelevant, and was, I am sure, the primary motivation for most participants. Rather, I would suggest that gambling's transgressive enactment of the circulation of wealth provides another clue to its social function. It is essential to note that the money of the gambling table was always, but always, hard. Both gamblers and administrators of games rejected the assignat in favour of rare metal currency, which, whilst a greater sacrifice for the player, would be far more useful in the event of a win than depreciating paper money. By virtue of its illegality this abandonment of the assignat was necessarily secretive and duplicitous. Alexandre Dumas describes an occasion in a gaming den at the Palais Royal, when a potential player, described, intriguingly, as 'l'homme aux assignats', attempts to place a bet with paper money only to be rebuffed by the croupier, who demands that he play with metal, scorning the player's protestations that assignats are the money of the government.[44]

Dumas describes the fictional game at number one hundred and thirteen Palais Royal in detail, and offers some observations on the nature of games and gamers in general:

> L'ambition, l'amour, les sens, le coeur, l'esprit, l'ouïe, l'odorat, le toucher, tous les ressorts vitaux de l'homme enfin, se réunissent sur un seul mot et sur un seul but: jouer. Et n'allez pas croire que le joueur joue pour gagner.[45]

If Dumas neglects to mention sight amongst the senses employed by the gambler it may be because it is consciously disregarded for its potential to spoil the illusion. The gaze, in this instance, issues from the game organiser and the game itself, triumphing over the eye and tricking the player, a deceit anticipated by all

[44] A.Dumas, *Les mille et un fantomes, suivi de La femme au collier de velours*, Paris, 1974 [1848], p. 408.
[45] A.Dumas, ibid., p. 408.

concerned.[46] Whilst gamblers may begin with the intention of playing to win, they soon become absorbed by the game itself, and the euphoric sensations it induces. Gambling is described as demanding a total submission of the senses, a deceit which consumes the participant as an illness. Dumas ironically observes the moral benefits of such a surrender, for: 'Le joueur a toutes les vertus de son vice. Il est sobre, il est patient, il est indefatigable.' Finally, echoing the sentiments of anti-gambling rhetoric during the Revolution, the author makes explicit the gendered signification of such a consumption. 'La passion du jeu', Dumas concludes, 'c'est l'hystérie de l'homme.'[47]

Clearly, Dumas's text must be read with some caution, coming as it does from a gothic horror novel set during the French Revolution, but written some fifty years later, and susceptible to all the exaggerations of a Romantic sensibility. Furthermore, I do not wish to make any further contribution to an already extensive body of literature dealing with the psychology of gaming, but rather, to situate the playing of games within a highly developed market and as part of a distinct spectatorial economy. This market for games explains, in some part at least, why people gambled at high-risk tables. Each player had a choice as to how high they wanted the stakes to rise, and chose their game accordingly. Indeed, it is important to state the obvious: that people did win sometimes, although this was for the most part an illusion maintained by the croupier, who enticed people into playing by letting them win and making them believe that they could beat the bank, only to defeat them once confidence had enticed them to bet on high stakes.

It is, therefore, the technology of the game which explains its function within gaming circles, as well as its attendant social role. Although all games could in theory be gambled upon, clear divisions existed between different types of game, each of which carried a different risk-value. The rejection of the assignat, perhaps the fundamental technological component of the gambled-on game, marked the

[46] Jacques Lacan isolates the subordination of the eye to the gaze as a pre-requisite of *trompe-l'oeil*, which he characterises not as a genre, but as the fundamental principle defining all representation. See: J.Lacan, 'Of the Gaze as *Objet Petit a*' in: J.Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis*, trans. by Alan Sheridan, London, 1998 [1973], p. 103.

[47] A.Dumas, op. cit., p. 406. Interestingly, according to Freundlich, ninety percent of croupiers or organisers of illegal games were women. This undoubtedly contributed to perceptions of women as naturally duplicitous, although many of the women ostensibly organising games would have been

game out as essentially anti-revolutionary, or at least, within the limited spatio-temporal confines of the game, as above the everyday world of politics. Perhaps for this reason, politics regularly sought to gatecrash the party, in the form of moral condemnation and surveillance. Games of risk appear to have been imagined by their players as the opposite to their characterisation by Republican propaganda; to the participants they were symbolic and literal enactments of capitalist profit. Yet by staging circulation in such a 'pure', uncluttered form, gambling posed a real threat to the socio-political imperatives of the Revolution, which at points emulated such an unhindered freedom of will, and at others found it impossible to incorporate within its ideological framework. The diverse and repeatedly frustrated spectatorial encounters which gambling mobilised reflect this antagonism.

The rules of the game: pedagogy and play

Given the clear distinctions established by revolutionaries between legal and illicit, social and antisocial games, and the significance placed upon games as authors of individual moral and political action, it is unsurprising that games were appropriated to the task of revolutionary conversion. Certain types of game appeared especially relevant to this task, in particular those used for pedagogical ends prior to the Revolution. The best-known of these was the *jeu de l'oie*, or 'goose game', which had long been used as an instrument of religious and secular education. The *jeu de l'oie* literally performs the circulation required of the game, as the players, represented by counters, travel around a spiral board divided into segments, the extent of the move dependent upon the throw of a dice. Each numbered segment typically contains an image, many of which have particular requirements attached should a player's counter land on them (for instance, instructions to miss a go or to retreat a certain number of places). The winner is the first to reach the centre of the spiral, where some kind of exemplary scene or apotheosis awaits.

This format, which since the early seventeenth century had served to instruct children and adults alike in religious liturgy, political morality (Ill. 4.5) and national

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employed to do so by men. F.Freundlich, op. cit., p. 81, and pp. 177-182 for a discussion of gambling's alleged impact on the 'feminisation' of morals.

history (Ill. 4.6), was readily adapted to revolutionary iconography.[48] As Frédéric Maguet has pointed out, it mattered little whether the hero of the game was Alexander the Great or Jean-Jacques Rousseau; the game was played the same way.[49] As long as there were no 'délinquant' or distracting aspects capable of clouding the boundaries between the meaning of the decoration and the efficient observance of the rules of the game, the *jeu de l'oie* could accommodate a range of ideological ornamentation. Furthermore, I would suggest that the insistent and rigid enforcement of circulation effected by the *jeu de l'oie* (and exaggerated by its simplified spiral structure), made it an ideal means with which to advocate conformity to a system of social and political rules. As a result, the *jeu de l'oie* appears especially suited to the establishment or maintenance of orthodoxy, a fictional narrative whose conclusion is desired and inevitable, which contains no contentious elements, and whose playing is in no way transgressive, but rather a mnemonic to dogmatic truth.[50]

A *Jeu de la Révolution Française* (Ill. 4.7), one of many historicising printed games published during the 1790s, demonstrates the conclusivity with which the *jeu de l'oie* achieved both its ludic and pedagogical aims. Beginning with the storming of the Bastille, the spiral winds through the great *journées* of the Revolution, finishing with a detailed view of the National Assembly, perspectivally rendered in the manner of a *vue d'optique*, and framed by allegories of military success and abundance. Each numbered segment contains an image of an event, person or process, stripped of context and reduced to a synchronic tableau operating within the diachronic narrative of the game, whose structure inevitably changes, as players skip moves or retreat according to the throw of the dice.

The overall impression is not dissimilar to that conveyed by narrative print histories of the Revolution. In these publications, narrative proceeds in a fractured,

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[48] See: J.A.Leith, 'Clio and the Goose: The *Jeu de l'Oie* as Historical Evidence' in: C.W.White ed., *Essays in European History. Selected from the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association 1990-1991*, vol. III, Lanham, New York and London, 1996, pp. 227-262.

[49] F.Maguet, 'Le Ciel sur un coup de dès... Étude de quelques jeux de l'oie religieux', *Révue du Louvre*, vol. 5, no. 6, 1994, p. 79.

[50] In this respect Perrault's *Contes de ma Mère L'Oye*, or Mother Goose, first published in 1695, provides an animalistic reference. The *Contes* and other fables were assigned a pedagogical function, and were frequently reproduced as prints or magic lantern shows. See: C.Velay-Vallantin, 'Les Contes mis en scène pour la lanterne magique' in: J.-J.Tatin-Gourier ed., *La Lanterne magique, pratiques et mise en écriture*, Tours, 1997, pp. 17-22.

accumulative manner, divided into significant events which may be read singularly or as part of a series. It is perhaps unsurprising then that many of the images in this game are derived from other areas of print culture. Step two, the reunion of the Three Estates, follows a format established in single sheet prints, whilst the representations of the storming of the Bastille in step one, and the building of the Champ de Mars and the Festival of Federation, in steps thirty-eight and thirty-nine are also adapted from popular prints.

On some steps of the game, strange black-clad geese wearing bridles, representing the judges of the recently controlled Parlements, signify a break in the narrative. For instance, if a player were to land on number fifty, marked by the Parlement of Besançon, he or she would be bound to return to the beginning of the game. This was a narrative device inherited from religious forbears to the revolutionary *jeu de l'oie*, which pedagogically confirmed dangers as well as truths. Each scene of hazard, was, in the place of a flight into Egypt or saintly martyrdom, a different Parlement, carrying a threat of varying degrees of benignity.[51] At no point was the exchange of currency advised, unlike a game such as *biribi*, whose blank spaces denied direct representation to signify only a space viable for the transfer of cash from player to organiser of the game. No such freedom was allowed to the *jeu de l'oie*, which substituted images of the revolutionary past as a series of indelible, intrinsic truths to be learnt, for the fluidity of meaning employed by the *jeux de hasard*. However, this rigidity was not always so easily maintained. Although this image features, in segment fifty-three, an overflowing cornucopia of assignats, signifying abundance, another, closely-related *Jeu de la Révolution française, tracé sur le plan du jeu d'oye renouvéle les grècs* (Ill. 4.8) shows, under the same number, a pair of assignats weighted down by two dice: where there is a game, there is a gamble.

A game thought to have been owned by the Dauphin whilst incarcerated in the Temple (Ill. 4.9) further demonstrates the slippage between categories of licit and illicit, pedagogy and moral turpitude. This game, which conforms to the basic form of a *loto*, is composed of ninety numbered circles to be 'won' by counters in the shape of pins, fitting into holes in the centre of each circle. Rather than prescribing

[51] F.Maguet, ibid., p. 84.

meaning by visual means, as in the narrative staged by the *jeu de l'oie*, the visuality of this game articulates absence. The conclusion is not foreseen as in the *jeu de l'oie*, where it is certain that either one of the players (and the game is meant to educate both), will reach the final scene. Rather, the board operates as a frame for free circulation, and, apart from the unavoidable context of its use, has no claims on historical narrative.

This game was alleged to have been amongst the young prince's personal effects, including other toys such as lead soldiers. Set against the example of the Dauphin's handwriting practice now in the Musée Carnavalet, it is clear that it was intended solely as a diversion from the trauma of a curtailed childhood. Nevertheless, the format of the game is a miniature version of that used to play many games of risk, with little or no pedagogical interruption. It is likely, although this is of course a somewhat specialised example, that such games found as wide an audience amongst children as they did in the gambling dens. Either gambling was so endemic as to make the use of such games amongst children unproblematic, or, as seems more probable, the lack of restriction embodied in this image-free gaming technology allowed it to elide categorisation and meant that it could be used in a variety of contexts, only taking on positive or negative colouring when used for a particular purpose.

On the 1st January 1790, a committee representing the Vainqueurs of the Bastille, led by Palloy, presented the Dauphin with a set of dominoes made from stone and marble reclaimed from the disassembled fortress. Only the lid of this set remains, the box and dominoes allegedly lost in the tumult of 10th August 1792; a fragment which, by virtue of its partial nature and apparent proximity to the Dauphin, has all the makings of a royalist relic.[52] This demonstrates vividly the mutability of the memory-object during this period: from royal prison to revolutionary relic, and back

[52] The only source I have found for this account of the game's loss is the wall plaque in the Musée Carnavalet. The claim that the game was lost during the storming of the Tuileries appears to be an attempt to authorise the fact of its use by the Dauphin, suggesting that he may have possibly been using it at the time of the attack, or that it was, at least, a treasured item whose loss was tangible. The Dauphin would of course have been inundated with gifts, yet the loss of this item allows for its reinscription as a relic. On the role of the Musée Carnavalet in the memorialising of such objects and their previous owners see: R.Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*, Oxford and New York, 2002, pp. 13-57.

to royalist relic again following its ownership by the Dauphin. The lid of the box is inscribed:

> De ces affreux cachots la terreur des français. Vous voyez les débris transformés en hochets. Puissent-ils, en servent aux jeux de votre enfance. Un peuple vous montrer l'amour et la puissance.[53]

Clearly, those presenting this box to the future king were well aware of the pedagogical potential of the game it contained. This was articulated via the material facture of the dominoes themselves. As the inscription pointed out, the ability of the Dauphin to see this transformation of prison to game with his own eyes would lead to a corresponding transformation in the fortunes of the French people under his eventual reign.

There existed, despite the diffusion of political meaning across different games, a hierarchy of games which corresponded to their perceived danger, or socially useful function. Playing cards, and non- or partially printed games such as chess, were graded according to these criteria. Chess was generally thought safe, if conducive to a somewhat unhealthy absorption incompatible with the virile action required of revolutionary heroes. Others associated it with military strategy, and extolled its relevance as a game of war. The moral attribution of card-playing depended upon type and usage, although it was most frequently derided as banal and vulgar, and criticised for inducing a moral weakness.

As the Revolution progressed, playing cards themselves were subject to a visual 'régénération' analogous to that carried out elsewhere under the cultural programme of the year II. Few iconographical changes had been made to playing cards in the wake of the events of 1789, for although playing cards did have a history of political use throughout Europe, the establishment of a constitutional monarchy meant that the position of kings and queens on cards was, for some time, tenable.[54] A decree of 1st brumaire year II (22nd October 1793) ordered the suppression of all signs of royalty or feudalism on playing cards. The arrest and requisition of the property of one Mercier, a former *fermier général*, in nivôse year II (December

[53] Musée Carnavalet, Inv. OM 520.
[54] T.Depaulis ed., *Les cartes de la Révolution: cartes à jouer et propagande*, exh. cat., Issy-les-Moulineaux, 1989, p. 7.

1793), was accomplished under these laws. At Mercier's house the *comité de surveillance* of the Faubourg-Montmartre found:

> 80 estampes représentant, l'une, un vase avec un écusson à 3 fleurs de lis, et l'autre, un vase sur un piédestal, avec colonne torse, un jeu complet de cavagnolle, avec cartons portant des figures emblématiques de royauté et de féodalité, entourés de vignettes fleurdelisées.[55]

Investigating officers Courtois and Guibert were eager to point out that all these objects, as well as a portrait of Marie-Antoinette also found on the premises, would be incinerated, although, as one document from March of that year maintained, they were fighting something of a losing battle, with the printed last testament of Louis and portraits of the royal family still publicly on sale amongst 'la plupart des marchands des estampes.'[56]

Within these guidelines card-makers were allowed a large amount of artistic freedom. Laws of 1701 had enforced the mandatory standardisation of card design according to region, in order to simplify the collection of taxes levied on cards, whilst blocks used for printing had to be lodged with the authorities. Although card-makers had circumvented this proscription by publishing their designs as *jeux de l'oie* which could subsequently be cut up by the purchaser for use as cards, the Revolution liberated card-makers from the obligation to standard practice, encouraging a diversity of production.[57]

Manufacturers from the famous card-making centres of Lille and Lyon were quickest to adapt to the new commercial opportunities offered by this legislative transformation, although Parisian card-makers soon emulated their initial efforts. Jean-Démosthène Dugourc and Urbain Jaume, responsible for a set of cards normally attributed to the Comte de Saint-Simon, managed to conflate a number of

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[55] A.N. F^7 4774^{42}. I am unsure whether the print representing a vase 'sur un piédestal, avec colonne torse' was similar to those deceptive images discussed on p. 180. If not, it appears that it in any case functioned *in memoriam* to the royal family.

[56] A.N., $A.F.^{IV}$ 1470, 18th and 19th March 1793 in: A.Tuetey, *Répertoire générale des sources manuscrites de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*, vol. 9, Convention nationale 2, Paris, 1890-1914, p. 106, document 478.

[57] S.Mann, *Alle Karten auf den Tisch/All Cards on the Table*, two vols., Leinfelden-Echterdingen and Marburg, 1990, pp. 116-117.

contemporary political references on the same set of cards.[58] As a publicity poster shows (Ill. 4.10), figures representing the liberty of cults, or the freedom of the press, were attended by the virtues which they embodied, in these instances, fraternity and light. Unique in their egalitarian nature, these cards substituted equal 'laws' for hierarchically organised kings, queens and jacks, or valets, a characteristic which few other packs managed to achieve.[59] These allegorical interpretations were joined by similar packs on other specifically revolutionary themes, for instance Gayant's *Jeu des philosophes*, or packs representing classical archetypes.[60]

As late as 1808, David was commisioned to produce a design which would 'substituer aux figures bizarres des rois, dames et valets un dessin dont l'extrême élégance et la pureté rendent la contrefaçon difficile.'[61] David's designs, engraved by Andrieu, an artist well-known for his contribution to assignat design, were somewhat grave neo-classical allegories, which provided the model for a similar series by Gatteaux, in 1813. David's cards appear to have been popular, and were reprinted in several editions, the last in 1853.[62] In conjunction with these technically superior and expensive cards were many popular versions, often featuring a more demotic revolutionary symbolism: busts of Marat, liberty trees and *bonnets rouges*. In a similar regenerative vein, the Strasbourg-based card-maker Louis Carey produced between 1793 and 1800 a revolutionary tarot, replacing the 'Emperor' and 'Empress' with 'le Grand-père and 'la Grand-mère.' Carey reworked existing plates, so that kings became 'génies', queens 'libertés', and valets

[58] T.Depaulis ed., op. cit., p. 20. Depaulis explains the circumstances (a set of hoax letters) which led to the Comte de Saint-Simon (Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, 1760-1825) being generally accredited as the designer of these cards.
[59] D.Hoffmann, *Le Monde de la Carte a Jouer*, Leipzig, 1972, p. 34.
[60] As Herbert points out, manufacturers shared designs for playing cards. R.Herbert, *David, Voltaire, "Brutus" and the French Revolution : an essay in art and politics*, London, 1972, p. 146, n113. See also the following statement in *Le Moniteur*: 'Au 1er ventôse on trouvera de nouvelles cartes républicaines chez les citoyens-fabricants ci-après: Delâtre, Maudron, Ybert, Chassonerie, Minot, Lefer, Minot le jeune, Meunier et Lachapelle, tous réunis pour le même modèle'. *Le Moniteur, Supplément*, no. 154, 4 ventôse an II (22nd February 1794) unpaginated. Jean-Pierre Seguin recounts that the game designed by the Parisian Jean Minot was copied by at least four other presses, whilst that of Galtot was appropriated by Pinant, Lamarque, a card-maker from Toulouse and, in part, by Jaume and Dugourc. J.-P.Seguin, *Le Jeu de Carte*, Paris, 1968, pp. 108.
[61] In: J.-P.Seguin, ibid., p. 113.
[62] D.Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 34. In 1813 the law was relaxed to allow the return of kings, queens and valets on cards.

'égalités. Similarly, crowns, globes, sceptres, fleur-de-lys and Imperial eagles were all removed.[63]

Predictably, counter-revolutionary printmakers used the card form to express political opposition. (Ill. 4.11) An etched and coloured game from 1792 dedicates each card to a prominent revolutionary figure, with a few lines of unappreciative comment above a crossed aristocratic sword and pastoral crook, and a crown. For instance, Necker's latinised dedication reads: 'Il nous a tous volés, pillés, grugés, item. Il nous a faits capots et reduits ad assem (au dernier sol).' These cards insert the individualised political subject into the game in a manner avoided by revolutionary examples, which generally preferred abstract allegories to the more dangerous associations of real people. However, it goes without saying that cards, whatever the image on their surfaces, remained a fundamental part of gambling technology, fulfilling a function which contradicted any pedagogical intention.

One particular set of cards deserves further mention (Ill. 4.12). Produced in 1794 by Jean-Pierre Bézu, a painter and festival organiser from Egalité-sur-Marne, *ci-devant* Château-Thierry, the organising thematic of these cards was the cultural revolution of the year II. Functioning as a sort of 'republican encyclopaedia',[64] the set featured lists of relevant material for the aspiring, if confused, revolutionary, a pocket guide to the new forms of knowledge which had recently appeared. This ranged from articles of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen*, the new weights and measures, to the festival calendar established by Robespierre on 18 floréal year II (7th May 1794). In keeping with the militaristic emphasis of the summer of 1794, some cards feature diagrams of naval navigation equipment, as well as geographical explanations and lists of conquered territories, and, split between several cards, maps of France and other European countries.

Games in Time and Space

Materialising circulation and exchange, games provided an excellent medium for popularising revolutionary regenerations of time and space. At the same time, the spaces in which games were played and the temporal imaginings they mobilised

[63] T.Depaulis ed., *Tarot, jeu et image*, exh. cat., Paris, 1984, p. 76. Although they undoubtedly existed in great numbers, we have few remaining examples of revolutionary tarots. Carey's set is: Bibliothèque nationale, estampes, Kh 383 no 267.

were potentially threatening to revolutionary ideologies. As such, games may be thought of, like festivals, as chronotopes, prominent spatio-temporal milieux which both represent and actively organise spaces and time.

In 1814, twenty-three years after the redivision of France's administrative geography into eighty-three *départements*, a game appeared on the market whose stated aim was to instruct the children of France (and possibly some adults), in the revolutionary rearrangement of the national topography (Ill. 4.13). At the centre of a circular frame, a map of France, its departmental boundaries clearly demarcated, appears against the amputated outlines of its neighbours; Germany, Spain and Britain. Engraved by Delion, this image, with its convex longitudinal and latitudinal lines, and cherubs representing the four winds, forms a kind of imagined world-scape distinct from reality, in which the game may take place.

The players play with a Janus-faced counter, representing on one side an eagle, and on the other a bee, directed by throws of a dice whose numbers dictate the direction the 'winds' in the corners of the game should blow. At the end of the ubiquitous instructions is the following disclaimer: 'Le Caractère se connoît au jeu, un bon Jouer ne se fache jamais.' This entreaty to peace signals the game's utopian ludic function, masking the political reality of the print's message, and acting out a mode of circulation in which individuals are not constrained by documents in their movement across France's internal boundaries, but are rather subject to the erratic whims of a dice-throw. However, circulation in this image also implies a struggle, between Imperial eagle and bee, whilst the swift movement through named stages mobilises geography as a site of conflict and appropriation.

Paralleling the temporally determined, inevitable historical advance of the *jeu de l'oie*, this game was assigned a clear pedagogical function, most probably intended for domestic use. In this respect, games such as this, which, as with Bézu's cards, were produced in some shape or form throughout the Revolution, contrast vividly with the spaces used for the playing of illicit games of risk. Most infamously, the area surrounding the Palais Royal was a permeable zone which prioritised neither interior or exterior, whose significations, notwithstanding its status as a royal

[64] T.Depaulis ed., *Les cartes...*, op. cit., p. 24.

palace, may be characterised as almost defining an 'anti-domestic'. This liminal, porous aspect was exaggerated by architectural features, the open colonnade around the park, the site of crowd mobilisation in the early days of the Revolution, accentuating a fugitive 'in-betweenness' which was mirrored in the sites chosen for game-playing: in private houses and businesses, and on the streets. The association of the Palais Royal with the Duc d'Orléans further emphasised this blurring of boundaries; the duke was neither 'public' monarch nor private individual, and the area was commonly associated, perhaps most flamboyantly during the Directoire, with transgressions such as prostitution and speculation.[65]

Palais Royal, for a time Palais Egalité, was finally shut on 1st January 1838, following more than a century of surveillance by Parisian police authorities, and the attempted repression of all 'maisons suspectes', 'tripots' and 'académies' devoted to illegal gaming.[66] In a subversion of the ideal of the eighteenth-century salon as a site of intellectual contest and gendered sociability, the *hôtels particuliers* of Paris often played host to gambling dens, which varied in exclusivity and stakes. Elsewhere, people used the streets as their arena, and there are many reports of police confiscating gaming equipment from covert games in the passages surrounding the Palais Royal, as well as from swiftly orchestrated gambles on the banks of the Seine.[67] Boissy d'Anglas, for one, was typically appalled at the visibility of gaming tables, and the risk they posed for both the participant's family and the stability of the revolutionary collective:

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[65] A British euphemism which describes prostitutes as being 'on the game' suggests a widespread association between money, sex and games; correlations which issue from a variety of cultural milieu, from Rococo painting to contemporary vice (pornography and gambling websites together account for by far the majority of all internet traffic).

[66] This was not the only form of deception to be found at the Palais Royal. See for instance the report of the police spy Beraud, on 29th September 1793: 'Les bijoutiers du Palais-Royal sont des fripons avérés; ils vendent des objets moitié cuivre; plusieurs personnes s'en plaignent; le peuple demande des vérificateurs.' $F^{7}3688^{3}$, in: P.Caron ed., *Paris pendant la Terreur: Rapports des Agents Secrets du Ministre de l'Intérieur*, vol. 1, Paris, 1910, p. 226. The Parisian secret agents were spied on in turn by other agents charged with monitoring their progress (Caron, vol. 1, pxxi.), contradicting Babeuf's belief in fructidor year II that: 'les principes veulent que qui doit être surveille ne doit pas être lui-même surveillant, parce-qu'il est ridicule et abusif de se surveiller soi-même.' C.Babeuf, *Journal de la Liberté de la Presse*, no. 6, 27 fructidor an II (14 September 1794), p. 1.

[67] See, for instance: *Procès-verbal de saisie dans une boutique du passage de Valois, d'un tableau de biribi, d'un sac avec des olives, d'un tableau de carton servant à jouer à la parfaite égalité et de divers autres objets affectés aux jeux*, 10 May 1791, A.P. Sections de Paris, procès-verbal des commissaires de police (Butte-des-Moulins); and *Procès-verbal d'arrestation par le commissaire Ferrand de trois particuliers jouant au jeu de balles sur le quai de Gesvres, et faisant perdre beaucoup d'argent, jusqu'à dix ou douze louis, à ceux qu'ils engageaient dans leur jeu*, 8 June 1789, A.N. Y 13016.

> Voyez à l'entrée des Champs-Elysées, des tables de jeux sont dressées en plein air: le soldat oisif, l'artisan, le pauvre, trouvent les moyens d'y livrer au hasard le denier nécessaire à leur subsistance du jour, à l'aliment de leur famille entière; ce denier qu'ils peuvent être tentés de remplacer ensuite par l'assassinat et par le vol.[68]

Games, their organisers and their players, proceeded through the geography of Paris as if it were itself a game, the social 'types' described by d'Anglas figuring as counters whose circulation would lead to an inevitable loss. The persistent efforts of the Parisian police enhanced the element of risk, a game of cat and mouse which raised the stakes beyond the players' immediate financial commitment. Publishers and sellers of illicit or counter-revolutionary imagery, too, played at high stakes. Webert, based appropriately enough at number two hundred and three Palais Royal, worked under continual surveillance, playing a game of risk with the police until his eventual arrest and sentence of death, passed alongside that of Boyer-Brun on 1 prairial year II (23rd May 1794) for distributing 'les infernales productions du fanatisme et de l'aristocratisme.'[69] The fear of murder expressed by d'Anglas is particularly illustrative. As Lévi-Strauss observes, 'to win a game is symbolically to "kill" one's opponent.'[70] In conjunction with the countless tracts calling for the prohibition of gambling, many pamphlets employed a similar language to demand the increased suppression of duelling, which, like gambling, had potentially deathly (not to mention Ancien-Régime) connotations.[71] Such an anachronistic 'system' could prove damaging to the supremacy of justice conceived in a revolutionary mould.

The widespread emigration of aristocrats to sympathetic European neighbours encouraged various forms of ludic imagining, the most prominent of which was the *jeu de l'émigrette*, the humble yo-yo, a common subject for satire (Ill. 4.14).[72] One song, allegedly sung at the house of the Minister of the Interior on the day of the

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[68] Boissy d'Anglas, *Motion d'ordre... 19 brumaire an V*, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
[69] C.Langlois, *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1988, p. 225.
[70] C.Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, trans. from French, London, 1966, p. 32.
[71] F.Gorguereau, *Le Duel considéré dans tous les rapports historiques, moraux et constitutionnels, et moyens de l'anéantir radicalement*, Paris, 1791.
[72] Émigrés were also associated with other games, as suggested in the aquatint *Le jeu de l'émigré – au premier coup! C'est bien jouer* (BN, de Vinck 4371) which represents the crowned heads of Europe playing a game of skittles.

festival inaugurating the busts of Marat and Lepeletier, is a fairly typical statement on the subject:

> Que le jeu de l'Émigrette
> Etoit un jeu bien plaisant!
> Chacun avoit sa roulette,
> Qu'il rouloit badinant;
> Cette gentille amusette
> Nous peignoit, à chaque instant,
> La chûte de l'émigrant[73]

Émigrés, according to their association with this game, left, only to return shortly afterwards. Again, the technology of the game conditions its social context. However, the author of this song suggests a radical solution, the cutting of the yo-yo cord, with a 'petit coup de ciseau' to render the transient 'immobile'. Surely, this must be read as a barely concealed threat of capital punishment, the guillotine hovering as euphemism in the background.

Guillotines, of course, also cut paper. The severing of the émigré community was an act which became manifest at a variety of levels, from the confiscation of land rights and their transformation into assignats, to the denial of passports. That this song appeared at a revolutionary festival should not pass without comment, for nowhere were the limits on citizenship more consciously articulated, although the role of the game in festival organisation was usually restricted to the margins of both event and representation, as in the post-Federation celebrations. The festivals of the Directoire period, however, were something of an exception. For Lévi-Strauss, games begin with an essential equality before proceeding to divide the participants into victors or losers; unlike rituals, which unite previously distinct individual subjectivities into a single communal similarity of purpose.[74] Directoire festivals, on the other hand, aimed for something like a score draw, complete with Antique-derived games in which athletes crossed the finishing line from different directions, meeting as they did so in a fraternal embrace.[75] As Huizinga points out:

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[73] *Le jeu de l'émigrette ou les trois coups républicains. Couplets chantés, le jour de la fête de l'inauguration des bustes de Marat & Lepeletier, dans la maison du Ministre de l'Intérieur. Sur l'air Coeurs sensibles, coeurs fidèles &c.*, Paris, n.d.

[74] C.Lévi-Strauss, op. cit., p. 32.

[75] Jacques Heers, amongst others, interprets the presence of games in festivals as a compensation for the absence of war: '[...] la fête «sportive» paraît alors une sorte de transfert des confits armés, on pourrait dire une compensation à l'absence de guerres intestines'. Rather than replacing a desired

> Just as there is no formal difference between play and ritual, so the "consecrated spot" cannot be formally distinguished from the play-ground. The arena, the card-table, the magic circle, the temple, the stage, the screen, the tennis court, the court of justice, etc., are all in form and function play-grounds [...] All are temporary worlds within the ordinary world, dedicated to the performance of an act apart.[76]

The temporally and spatially distinct environment of the game finds a unique analogue in the festival, constrained by *Cirque* and procession. Yet despite the ontological similarity in milieu, a game devoid of risk is a ritual bled of any social meaning. Without the potential for trickery and artificiality, for sleight of hand and eye, the game exists only in a stylised, neutered form. Then, and only then, is it safe enough to be incorporated into the revolutionary festival, that time-space devoted to an intensified and unobscured opticality, which threatens to disintegrate at the merest accusation of camouflage or falsehood. This, perhaps, is why the festivals of the Directoire period failed to generate much spontaneous support. Paradoxically, in their desire to avoid fakery and simulation, by appropriating games these festivals end up as pastiche.

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In one somewhat bizarre British etching sold under the title *Nativities of the Late King and Queen of France* (Ill. 4.15), the deaths of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette are imagined as prefigured in their astrological charts. The image is composed of four oval vignettes, the upper two containing portraits of the unfortunate couple, with the lower pair illustrating their nadirs in the form of representations of the Tuileries Palace and the guillotine, inscribed with the dates of their executions. In the centre of the quatrefoil design a set of rectangles and quadrilaterals, placed within one another, contain the date of the coronation, 11th June 1775. Surrounding this legend, and the four figurative scenes, is the arcane numerical and symbolic code of cosmological divination, suggesting that the deaths of the royal family may be explained by recourse to the movement of the planets. However, as Daniel Arasse notes, the egalitarian character of astrological

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war, I would argue that these festivals, coming so soon after an intense period of national and civic violence, if anything mimic the forms of war as a way of replaying or accomodating this trauma. J.Heers, *Fêtes, jeux et joutes dans les sociétés d'occident à la fin du moyen-âge*, Montreal, 1971, p. 79.

[76] J.Huizinga, op. cit., p. 10.

explanation renders this image difficult to categorise. If the fates of both king and peasant are determined by universal forces outside of their control, rendering them in some sense equal, the normative classification of this image as sympathetic to royalist concerns appears uncertain.[77]

Arasse suggests that this ambivalence is without doubt the cause of the print's unique form and its subsequent lack of commentary. This implies that the image was in some sense a failure, that the format was ill-conceived, or that this blend of historical event and pseudo-mystical prognostication was confusing to contemporary viewers. Yet whether a successful commodity or not, I would suggest that such images were comprehensible to late eighteenth-century metropolitan spectators (although perhaps less so to a British audience), who would have understood them in the context of a ludic culture which confidently assimilated a variety of forms, from tarot to tablemats. This would not have required a detailed knowledge of the intricacies of astrological prophecy on behalf of the viewer, but simply a recognition of its place within a ludic visual field. In an uncertain world, in which the ability to see the future would offer the player or viewer a discrete advantage, prophecy figured as a profound desire, a safeguard against the unprecedented vagaries of the Revolution.

Another related image has an unmistakably revolutionary cast. *Le nouvel astre français ou la cocarde tricolore suivant le cour du Zodiaque* (Ill. 4.16) is set beneath the light of a radiating sun, above which the signs of the zodiac are arrayed in their emblematic forms. The rays of the sun exceed their metaphorical significance, bearing lines of text which illuminate the meaning of the scene being played out below.[78] On one side they read 'Avis aux siècles futurs', and 'L'Orgueil les forma, la raison les détruit;' on the other 'L'Oeuvre du tems ou le préjugé vaincu' and 'Triomphe de la Philosophie et de la Raison'. Clearly a range of positive and negative associations have been thrown down by the beams of light, which, at the base of the image, cast the central subject into unenlightened shade. Around the centre of the print are arranged, on named pedestals carrying coats of

[77] D.Arasse and V.Rousseau-Lagarde eds., *La Guillotine dans la Révolution*, exh. cat., Vizille, 1987, p. 108.

[78] For a comprehensive evaluation of the changing metaphorical meanings of light in eighteenth-century France see: R.Reichardt, 'Light against Darkness: The Visual Representation of a Central Enlightenment Concept', *Representations*, 61, (Winter 1998), pp. 95-148.

arms, a series of portrait busts, representing the crowned heads of Europe, and prominent 'tyrants' such as Pope Pius VI, each with a lit candle protruding from the top of their ornamented headgear. Father Time, his scythe inverted so that its handle forms a candle-snuffer, is progressing around the circle of twelve,[79] extinguishing their weak flames, presumably so that a bright, revolutionary light can illuminate Europe. The task has been partially accomplished. In a patch of grimy shadow, the bust of Louis 'le traitre' may be seen ignominiously dethroned, its pedestal overturned in the place of a spare, triangulated column marked 'République française, 1792', capped by a raging fire from which rises a liberty bonnet. Headwear is invoked as a sign of allegiance, for Time, too, sports a Phrygian cap, not crown or mitre, suggesting that even he is on the side of the Revolution.

The sense of inevitability with which this image promotes a continuous and international Revolution appears familiar to anyone versed in teleological readings of the French Revolution as the progenitor of Russian counterparts in the twentieth century.[80] Yet as a piece of visual rhetoric aimed at bolstering radical Republicanism, *Le nouvel astre français* is less reliable as a statement of historical 'fact' than as a reflection of the desires and references which constitute the ideology it supports. The use of astrological signs to mediate the destruction of royalty is telling in this regard. The lion, sign of Leo, and of royalty, is highlighted at the top of the image, the centre of all the other signs, and directly above the sun. Forming a neat visual parallel with the deposed Louis at the base of the image, his head uncomfortably close to Time's scythe, the signs of the zodiac here serve a deflating, caricatural purpose, whilst insistently reinforcing the linear, predestined, pronouncedly historical character of the dominant ideology: that what has occurred in France will inevitably take place all over the world.

Images such as this may be read against the abundant and diverse almanacs, covering all subjects, whose aetiology lay in the medieval Book of Hours, and in

[79] The pedestals are limited to twelve to match the number of zodiacal signs. For this purpose, the artist has accommodated two figures, Joseph II and Leopold II of Prussia, on a single pedestal, matched by a dual candle.
[80] See: F.Furet, '1789-1917: aller et retour' [1989] in: F.Furet, *La Révolution en débat*, Paris, 1999, pp. 155-188.

astrology.[81] Almanacs were intended as a guide for the year, and included a calendar, alongside predictions for each month, whose focus depended on the remit of the specific publication. Adapted, in part at least, to a revolutionary audience, almanacs were sold door-to-door by travelling *colporteurs*, whilst their readership, limited by their annual publication, was generally drawn from the rural peasantry. Almanacs were often dedicated to the playing of games, or to diversions such as the recording and divination of monstrous births, fables, or popular religion.[82] One *Almanach de Trou-Madame*, published in 1790, demonstrates how unliteral such a ludic connection could be. This almanac claims to relate to the playing of *Trou-Madame*, a variant of the English 'nine-holes' or 'pigeon-holes', a game derived from billiards in which small ivory balls are launched down a gallery containing numerous arcades with a hole at the end, each of which carries a points rating – a precursor to twentieth-century pinball machines, and equally indiscriminate in its results.

Yet the information contained in the monthly sections of the book has little to do with the game, and most of the references to it occur in the introductory passage. The author argues for a metaphorical understanding of *Trou-Madame*, in which the 'holes' upon which the game is based acquire an unprecedented historical significance:

> Je trouve la création de l'univers, sa beauté, ses révolutions, ses phénomemes, dans une systême qui n'est pas particulier, systême qui a pour base la multiplicité, & la variété des trous qui sont à l'infini tant sur la terre, que dans les mers.[83]

Furthermore, this is a form of causality which is reflected directly in the technological specificity of this particular game, for:

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[81] See: L.Andries, 'Almanacs: Revolutionizing a Traditional Genre' in: R.Darnton and D.Roche eds., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775-1800*, exh. cat., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989, p. 203.

[82] L.Andries, ibid., p. 213. This type of almanac is closely related to the many technical guides to the playing of games, which served as instructional primers for the unskilled, or as detailed manuals for more advanced players. Many of these texts were copiously illustrated with diagrams of specific moves and plays. See for instance: *Le Grand TricTrac, ou methode facile pour apprende sans maitre la marche, les termes, les regles, et une grande partie des finesses de ce jeu, enrichie de 288 planches ou figures, avec les décisions de cas particuliers*, Paris, 1790.

[83] *Almanach de Trou-Madame, jeu très-ancien et très-connu, et le cause de presque toutes les révolutions*, Paris, 1791, pp. 4-5.

> [...] c'est principalement le jeu du Trou-Madame où l'on voit un nombre de billes aller & venir, qu'on apperçoit des trous; l'on en compte douze, qui réprésentent les douze mois de l'année, & qui sont plus ou moins bien remplis selon les billes qu'on y lance, & qui vont & viennent successivement.[84]

The 'holes' of the game of Trou-Madame are conceptualised by the author as naturally occurring absences, failures, random occurrences or remissions, which allow the contingent and arbitrary events of history to develop independently of the systems which generations of philosophers have attempted to impose. This is a formulation which observes the past as keenly as the future, borrowing the technical language of the game to invoke a series of 'memory holes' which no amount of divination or prophecy can fill.[85]

In a parallel tradition, tarot, or *cartomancie*, with which astrological and other predictive devices share a lineage, implied a temporally-inflected gaze, a form of spectatorship which expanded into the future and the past, mediated by configurations of image-based cards in the present.[86] Crucially, portraits and their physiognomic categorisation were also implicated in this procedure, and many manuals conflate the two terms.[87] It was thought that physiognomy could provide a means of seeing into the future, and that a subject's prospective fortune, particularly any aberrant or criminal aspects, could be determined by a combination of physiognomy and tarot, both of which claimed ancient archetypes, Greek sculpture and Egyptian mysticism respectively.

The physical degradation which gambling was alleged to bring about, its total subjugation of the senses, was brought together, in the form of medical treatises on the subject, with physiognomic reflection and a reiteration of the dissimulative potential of the chronic gambler. In a paper presented to the Paris medical school on 22 pluviôse year XIII (11th February 1805), Benjamin Levraud, a doctor from

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[84] *Almanach*, ibid., p. 15.

[85] See: A.Assmann, 'Texts, Traces, Trash: The Changing Media of Cultural Memory', *Representations*, 56 (Fall 1996), p. 133. Assmann relates how Winston Smith, hero of George Orwell's *1984*, partially recuperated the past amongst the scraps of paper and pieces of rubbish which had avoided the 'memory holes'.

[86] See the extensive collection of pamphlets relating to tarot published by Etteila, and held in the British Library. *Pamphlets by Etteila, 1783-1787, two volumes*, BL 8630 bb37.

[87] For a mid nineteenth-century example see for instance: *La grande cartomancie,ou l'art de faire les cartes aux autres et à soi-même, et d'y lire le passé, le present et l'avenir, suivi de la chiromancie, et de la physiognomie, et terminé par la phrénologie*, Paris, 1830.

Barbezieux, in the department of Charente, explained the detrimental effects which, amongst other things, the gaming environment could have on persistent gamblers. Lack of circulating air in the gambling space spread infection, the doors and windows shut for secrecy's sake. Dissimulation is marked out as the cause of the gambler's problems, not just a symptom. Levraud tracks the changes which occur to the gambler as he or she anticipates, begins, and either wins or loses a game. Yet this task is not easily accomplished, for:

> Malgré les changements qui s'opèrent en lui, il ne saurait *tromper l'oeil* attentif de l'observateur, mais cependant rien n'est plus difficile à peindre que la physiognomie d'un joueur. Les muscles de sa face ont acquis, par la fréquence de leurs contractions, une telle mobilité, que la même figure peut être méconnaissable à chaque moment.[88]

The elastic face of the gambler, read against the printed templates of known 'types' common to physiognomical discourse, tricks the eye of the spectator. It seems natural that printed images, which possess an obvious material affinity with ideas of replication and counterfeiting, should follow a similar pattern.

Endgames

> A new character came on the scene, masked. It was the end of a certain kind of tragedy; comedy began, with shadow play, faceless voices, impalpable entities.[89]

The literal and metaphorical associations of games are not, as I have already pointed out, limited to those areas of cultural production conventionally acknowledged as relating to the material manifestations of a particular game. Games play up to their social and socialising reputation, and may be discovered in unlikely surroundings. I want to conclude with an analysis of a group of images whose ludic role is the work of memory, a preservation of the Revolution's paper traces which entices, yet ultimately thwarts, decipherment.

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[88] B.Levraud, *Dissertation médicale sur les effets de la Passion du Jeu. Présentée et soutenue à l'École de Médecine de Paris, le 22 pluviôse an XIII*, Paris, 1805, p. 7. My italics.
[89] M.Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan, London, 1991 [1975], pp. 16-17.

On the 30 pluviôse year IV (19th February 1796) a huge pile of assignats were set alight in the Place des Piques, formerly known as the Place Vendôme, in the centre of Paris. As a large crowd gathered, an official lit the fire with funereal ceremony, whilst nearby the plates, casts, watermarks and stamps with which the money had been made, thirty thousand pieces in total, were broken, burnt and melted down, to the sound of public rejoicing and cries of 'vive la liberté!'[90] Given the sacrificial nature of this ritual, the sense of communality engendered by the destruction of wealth, and the processional devices which had preceded it, its characterisation by some commentators as the last great festival of the French Revolution appears fully justified.[91]

As a consequence of the financial strain of counterfeiting, war and speculation, and the assignat's corresponding over-issue, revolutionaries were powerless to prevent a calamitous depreciation which, despite the economic Terror imposed by the 'maximum', left 100 livres of assignats in 1789 worth only 18 livres in nivôse - pluviôse year III (January 1795), a situation which drastically worsened as the year wore on. Speculation and depreciation had provided a suitable environment for widespread gambling. As Sgard observes: 'Comme en outre la monnaie est abondante et précaire, comme le billet fait figure de jeton ou de carte sans rapport immédiat avec la valeur [...] la tricherie trouve un terrain favourable.'[92] Thousands were ruined by the assignat's collapse, and on 10 pluviôse year IV (30th January

[90] 'Le «brulement des planches», c'est-à-dire la fonte des matrices, se fit sous les yeux d'un nombreux public, rassemblé à un grand renfort de propagande'. M.Bruguière, *Gestionnaires et profiteurs de la Révolution: l'administration des finances françaises de Louis XVI à Bonaparte*, Paris, 1996, p. 116. 'Les planches, formes, gravures, matrices, poinçons, médaillons [...] furent brûlés, brisés, fondus solennellement place des Piques, devant une foule considerable, et aux cris dit-on de «vive la République».' F.Crouzet, *La grande inflation: la monnaie en France de Louis XVI à Napoléon*, Paris, 1993, p. 406. By the day of their destruction, the assignat plates had produced 45,581,411,618 francs in assignats. See: C.J.Gignoux, *La planche à Assignats*, Paris, 1933, p. 214. In a recent analysis of contemporary office culture, anthropologist Andrea Pellegram observes a phenomenon known as 'filing day', which bears some similarity to this obliteration of the documents of state. This destruction of unnecessary filed copies by the staff who had spent years collating them was an event that, rather than causing remorse, occasioned an undisguised pleasure, complemented further by the addition of a bureaucratic endorsement in the form of a meal: 'It was a glorious sight and everyone, most notably those who had spent years putting all those words on all those sheets in the first place, felt a great surge of pride. Look how much they had thrown away!' A.Pellegram, 'The Message in Paper' in: D.Miller ed., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, London, 1998, p. 119.

[91] F.Crouzet, op. cit., p. 406. Crouzet attributes to Michel Bruguière the festive connotations of the ceremony.

[92] J.Sgard, op. cit., p. 252

1796) the Council of the Five Hundred voted for the withdrawal of the assignat and the destruction of all remaining notes.

The ceremony of February 1796 marked a rupture. It was intended to register a self-conscious break with the past, allowing the assignat's successor as national currency, the equally disastrous *mandats territoriaux*, to prosper in its absence.[93] It did not go unnoticed that this rejuvenating ritual was staged at the time of the annual pre-Lenten carnival, which had been banned in 1789 as a relic of Ancien-Régime superstition. By invoking the sacrificial aspect of carnival – its ritual working-out of the cyclical wax and wane of consumption and frugality – the burning of the assignats relied on the memory of suppressed ritual behaviour. The Revolution's eagerness to do away with the carnival proper has been understood as an indication of the carnivalisation of the Revolution itself, the massive and permanent inversion making an individual annual event unnecessary.[94] However, specific elements of the 1796 ceremony: the potlatch destruction of superfluous wealth, the fire, the publicness, and the timing, all allude to a submerged collective memory of past conditions, a carnival in all but the legalistic and prescriptive nature of its organisation.

For if the legislative bodies responsible for the assignat's destruction thought that a bonfire of notes could erase the memory of the past – and after all the establishment of difference from previous modes of practice is *the* great revolutionary conceit – they were sorely mistaken. For a start, the assignat did not disappear immediately in February 1796. The notes were not demonetised straight away, and continued to circulate until July of that year. At the point of their exchange for *mandats territoriaux* in May, there were still known to be twenty-three billion francs worth of assignats in circulation, a vast quantity which underlines their pre-eminent status as disseminator of visual information during this period, as well as accentuating the impossibility of their total disappearance.[95]

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[93] On the economic history of the *mandats territoriaux* see: J.A.Miller, 'The Aftermath of the Assignat: Plaintiffs in the Age of Property, 1794-1804', in: J.A.Miller and H.G.Brown eds., *Taking Liberties: Problems of a New Order from the French Revolution to Napoleon*, Manchester, 2002, pp. 70-91.

[94] See: J.-M.Chouraqui, 'Le "Combat de Carnaval et de Carême" en Provence du XVIe au XIXe siècle', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporairie*, vol. 32, January-March 1985, p. 120-122.

[95] Money, as Marx points out, is the only imperishable commodity, never disappearing because it is required as a standard of exchange. For Marx, this has little to do with the material properties of a

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In the months following the destruction of the assignats, a number of bizarre images began to appear in the printshops of Directoire Paris; images whose production ceased as suddenly as it had begun. Number one hundred and twenty-three of the famous print series *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* is amongst the hardest to account for (Ill. 4.17). The form of the print, a *trompe-l'oeil* composite representation of the paper money of the Revolution, marks it out as a self-aware demonstration of artistic skill, an advertisement of technical proficiency on behalf of Benizy, known as Dubuisson, its uncelebrated designer and engraver.[96] Benizy, of whom few works, such as a vignette for the *Dépots Nationaux Littéraires* (Ill. 4.18), are known, produced no other prints for the *Tableaux*, unusual in a publication which encouraged artist loyalty.[97]

The quotidian subject matter conforms to the requirements of trompe-l'oeil representation, popularised before the Revolution by Vallayer-Coster and Doncre, well-known at this time through the work of Boilly (Ill. 4.19), and already present, as we shall see, in a variety of other pre-revolutionary and revolutionary manifestations.[98] The image also bears some similarities to the format of eighteenth-century English 'medley' prints, which likewise used the illusionistic representation of print in a self-referential capacity.[99] However, none of this explains the presence of Tableau one hundred and twenty-three in this setting – its

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particular money-form, but rather the life of commodities in circulation. The immediate replacement of assignats with mandats, and the persistence of paper money in France until the present day (not without some suspicion), all confirm Marx's analysis. K.Marx, *Grundrisse: Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. by Martin Nicolaus, London, 1973 [1857-58], p. 149.

[96] This could be one explanation for the proliferation of this imagery, often of a very high quality, as artists sought to advertise their skill in a recently resuscitated post-Thermidor market.

[97] A 'Dubuisson' was amongst the signatories of assignats (Muszynski, op. cit., p. 31). As a fairly common name we should not draw too many conclusions from this coincidence, however, it is tempting nonetheless to suppose that the producer of Tableau one hundred and twenty-three had been involved in assignat production at some level.

[98] See: S.L.Siegfried, 'Boilly and the Frame-up of *Trompe-L'oeil*', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1992, pp. 27-38. Siegfried recounts the criticism levelled at Boilly for his trompe-l'oeil designs, which, in the post-revolutionary art world, were attacked as representative of 'philistine' taste, appealing to a bourgeois market whose values were far removed from the high moral tone required by the salon (p. 34.).

[99] On this subject see: M.Hallett, 'The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Art History*, vol. 20, no. 2, June 1997, pp. 214-237. David McNeil has recently demonstrated the political potential of such imagery relating to the South Sea Bubble many years after the event in: D.McNeil, 'Collage and Social Theories: An Examination of Bowles's 'Medley' Prints of the 1720 South Sea Bubble', *Word and Image*, vol. 20, no. 4, October-December 2004, pp. 283-298.

uncanny appearance in a publication otherwise devoted to narrative structure and horizontal topography. The location of the image in the *Tableaux historiques* marks a radical break in the succession of topographical representations of revolutionary events and *journées* which characterised the publication. We have already seen in one example, Tableau sixty-eight (Ill. 1.46), how Prieur and Berthault's representation of the removal of the statue of Louis XIV on the Place des Victoires, a typically panoramic work from the *Tableaux*, deals with Revolutionary violence against images in a far more orthodox way than Tableau one hundred and twenty-three, although both prints are, of course, connected to the spatial politics of the life cycle of the assignat. The transformation of church buildings into centres for assignat production reworked the symbolic appropriation of church property on which the original issue of assignats had been based. As a result, a train of memories is established, each one inverting a previously dominant code. The original assignat relied on the memory of the land for which it stood. The Revolution of 1792 employs the memory of the assignat's origins in its choice of site for manufacture, and four years later the revolutionary legislature return to the same space, this time to destroy, not make, the once-precious currency.

However, the events in the Place des Victoires, where assignats were also made, are a story of Revolutionary success; the effective transformation of signs. In contrast, the bonfire in the former Place Vendôme appears to defy immediate representation, its destruction of Revolutionary signs an admission of defeat, and all we are left with is an empty, fractured distillation of narrative. Where the destruction itself occasionally found its way into representation, as with one German print (Ill. 4.20), it is some time after the event, and directed at an external print market.

In Tableau one hundred and twenty-three the assignats, mandats and promissory notes of the Revolution are laid on top of one another on a black background, with no reference to objects or events outside the immediate frame of the image. As Norman Bryson observes, trompe-l'œil asserts the autonomy of the deteriorating objects which constitute its subject matter, for: 'it is as though it is the objects that make the world, and the unconscious force stored in their outwardly humble forms – not their human users.'[100] In trompe-l'œil, we see objects as they really are, when

[100] N.Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting*, London, 1990, p. 143.

our backs are turned. A haphazard impression is created by the overlapping of the notes, although a closer inspection reveals that the assignats (if they ever existed as such) are clearly very carefully composed, their edges infringing upon one another but not to the extent that each note cannot be identified with ease. At the centre of the image the curled edge of a seven hundred and fifty livres note articulates three-dimensionality. Difference is expressed chromatically: of the one hundred and forty-four narrative prints and one hundred and forty-four portraits published in the *Tableaux* it is the only coloured image.

The total lack of comment on this image is striking, and it is never reproduced alongside the better-known designs of Prieur, Berthault, Girardet and Swebach-Desfontaines in the *Tableaux*. As an anomaly whose diachronic title[101] and subject matter contrast with the selection of pivotal events in which the *Tableaux* traded, the image was not subject to direct piracy in the major derivative versions which circulated in Europe throughout the 1790s, the *Tafereelen van de Staatsomwenteling in Frankrijk* (1794-1807) and the *Denkbuch der Franzoesischen Revolution* (1817-1819).[102]

The essentials of this image do appear elsewhere though, as similar trompe-l'oeil designs were reproduced on fans[103] (Ill. 4.21), labels for tobacco or makeup boxes and single sheet prints, sometimes featuring a calendar or detailed account of their demise (Ill. 4.22), or overlaid with a ragged peripatetic figure (Ill. 4.23), in this case after a design by Callot, whose destitution bears witness to the financial wreckage brought about by the depreciation of the assignat. One image polarises the relative fortunes of the speculator, on the right-hand side, hoarding his cash, and the poverty-stricken citizen at a bare table on the left (Ill. 4.24). The popularity of such images between 1796 and 1799 may be explained, in part at least, by a desire on the part of artists to advertise their skill in a recently resuscitated post-Thermidor art market. Indeed, the subject matter appears, at first glance, to allude to this self-

[101] The somewhat obvious title reads: *Valeur des assignats et autres papiers monnaies, depuis l'époque de leur emission en France, jusqu'à celle ou ils ont cessé d'avoir Cours.*

[102] *La Revolution par la gravure: les tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, exh. cat., Vizille, 2002, p. 219. This comprehensive exhibition of the *Tableaux historiques* and their many pirate versions makes no reference to Tableau one hundred and twenty-three, though it is reproduced, nor of Benizy, its artist.

referential commodification. Themes of temporality and remembrance are central, yet as often as not, as in the case of Tableau one hundred and twenty-three, there is no obvious political message. This apparent intractability and lack of engagement with external issues – one of the defining features of trompe-l'oeil – has contributed to a specious assumption that, despite its weirdly disjunctive effect, the commemoration of the assignat in illusionistic space is a perfectly logical and intrinsic conclusion to an apolitical material existence.

Tableau one hundred and twenty-three belongs, I argue, to the sphere of the game. The excessive illusion demanded by trompe-l'oeil is a parodic device; attempting literally to fool the eye into believing something which is not present, it forces the spectator into an engagement with the image which is circular and continuous; in which interpretation, divination and risk – the risk of being tricked – are key. Trompe-l'oeil is a representational strategy which, like a game, conforms to a limited set of rules. Indeed, its formal rigor is so adamantly inscribed that it often appears to be more intellectual exercise than independent art work.[104] At the very least trompe-l'oeil suggests a challenge to the conventions of artistic representation, by way of its 'junk' subject matter and simulative challenges to standards of the 'real'. Furthermore, trompe-l'oeil resists narrative, focusing rather on an obsessive, fetishised object, or set of objects, which are not figured as elements of a story that continues beyond the boundaries of the frame. Indeed, the only temporally determined aspect of the trompe-l'oeil appears in the suspicion that the objects represented are somehow transient, either already lost and forgotten, or not long for this world.

Assignats would seem to provide a thoroughly suitable subject matter on these last terms, having passed so recently into non-use. It is safe to say, I think, that these

[103] This fan was owned by Mme de la Clavière, no doubt as an amusing reference to her husband's role in the economic development of the assignat. A.Mercier, *L'argent des révolutionnaires*, exh.cat., Musée National des Techniques, Paris, 1989, p. 107.

[104] This has been explicitly suggested by Jean Baudrillard, who asserts that: 'Trompe-l'oeil is such a highly ritualised form precisely because it is not derived from painting but from metaphysics [...] As a strict formal 'genre', as an extremely conventional and metaphysical exercise, as anagram and anamorphosis it is opposed to painting as the anagram is to literature' J.Baudrillard, 'Trompe-l'Oeil' In: N.Bryson ed, *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 53.

images speak of passing, of death.[105] If, as has been suggested, the generic structure of trompe-l'oeil functions as a means by which we are to hallucinate our own deaths, the simulacrum of transient weightless ephemera played out against a void as 'ghosts that haunt the emptiness of the stage,'[106] then the use of assignats in this setting is unproblematic, indeed to be expected. Following the destruction of the assignat on the pyres of the Place des Piques, its trompe-l'oeil reproduction would figure as a reminder of the transience of existence, or indeed of the instability of existence as a concept, for money, above all things, exists as little more than a simulacrum of material value; notwithstanding the irony implicit in representing a former sign of value in a format traditionally reserved for objects whose lack of value is a mainstay of their visual rhetoric.[107]

However, whilst images such as this circular print (Ill. 4.25), interspersing trompe-l'oeil assignats with portraits of (mostly) dead revolutionaries,[108] combined with the alleged metaphysical specificity of trompe-l'oeil as a genre, appear to offer conclusive support for their interpretation as *memento mori*, or as materialised incarnations of the death drive, this would be to downplay the web of memories and the production of memory intrinsic to the assignats themselves. For in these images we see a negotiation of the symbolic economy of the assignat in which death, mourning and loss are, as I have already begun to explain, not the only signifieds. Furthermore, I am interested in the processes by which such repetitions acquire meaning against the specific cultural and political backdrop of the French Revolution. For instance, in the Thermidorean context of this image's production, it is only Marat and Robespierre, those 'proconsuls exterminateurs qui colportoient la mort, le deuil et le ravage,'[109] as a contemporary play called them, who are cut with the grim reaper's scythe.

A less obvious example from 1792 demonstrates how the trompe-l'oeil depiction of old papers other than assignats could retain a distinctly morbid air which failed to account for its political meaning. This remarkable print, published under the title

[105] On the subject of post-Thermidor technologies of mourning, fictional and otherwise, see: R.Schechter, 'Gothic Thermidor: The *Bals des victimes*, the Fantastic, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Post-Terror France', *Representations*, no.61, Winter 1998, pp. 78-94.
[106] J.Baudrillard, op. cit., p. 54.
[107] J.Baudrillard, ibid., p. 62.
[108] Of the figures depicted, only Lafayette survived the Revolution.
[109] *Appel à l'honneur, ou les remboursements en assignats, drame en III actes*, Paris, 1797, p. 15.

Apparition de l'ombre de Mirabeau (Ill. 4.26), issued after the discovery at the Tuileries of Mirabeau's secret correspondence with the king, employs an illusionistic array of papers tumbling from the cupboard and, in the form of Mirabeau's portrait-skeleton, an unequivocal allusion to death, to signify the discreditation of the latter and the primary evidence at the trial of the king. Here, as with the representations of assignats, rather than a reflection on a vanished object, these papers are presented as persistent, surviving death to manipulate the present. The illusion of the trompe-l'oeil alludes to the realisation that these papers are still very much in existence – ultimately the assignats in the trompe-l'oeil are only dead in so far as they continue to haunt.

The idea of a potentially political trompe-l'oeil requires some thought, being as it is a form of representation which revels in the depiction of things past and the recycling of well-worn motifs – not a style particularly suited to contemporary political struggle, one might think. In addition, I contest the extent to which trompe-l'oeil does effectively simulate its subject, the extent to which it *really* fools the spectator. By virtue of their printed reproduction of print, these images subvert, in any case, the illusionistic transcendence of trompe-l'oeil 'proper', whose effect is based upon the reproduction of an everyday scene or object in a different medium, most commonly paint on canvas. Furthermore, trompe-l'oeil rarely exceeds the limits of pictorial convention, the placing of an image in a frame, failing when the viewer's gaze moves to either side. The spectatorial pleasure it imparts, like the game in which players do not play to win, is more based upon the acknowledgement that a deceit has been attempted, rather than the success of that deception.

* * *

The ludic potential of extreme illusionism was not the sole preserve of print culture. A table now in the Musée Carnavalet (Ill. 4.27) appears as if abandoned mid-way through a game of cards, which scatter its plain surface.[110] Some are laid out in organised hemispheres whilst others are placed alone or in small clusters. One card has been torn in two and returned, incongruously, to the suite – perhaps thrown

down by an angry loser in a fit of pique? Maybe this is a clue explaining the arrested progress of the game and the desertion of the table? The weight of symbolism finally destroys the illusion: the severed card, in the centre of the 'image' is, of course, a king.

After this discovery, the table begins to reveal itself, firstly, in terms of what is visible, then in terms of incongruities. 'Nous sommes frères, aimons nous' reads one card, whilst another, a scroll coiled around a column topped with a bonnet rouge, bears the legend 'conservons nos ars'. The uppermost card of a pile to the top left-hand side carries a naïvely painted Republican symbol of the militaristic type, a cannon, arms and cockerel with the slogan 'je chante l'air'. This conceals a card whose legend is only partly visible, and we have to reconstitute the rest from memory or experience. 'Par Palloy' we read, followed by what may be 'démolisseur de la Bastille', although only 'de' and the last four letters of 'Bastille' are discernible.

Below this card is another with some sort of chain device, followed by yet another featuring a floral design, representative of the popular end of politically conscious card culture. This small part of the table surface is layered with meaning, the invocation of Palloy's name suggesting a deeper context which closer examination confirms. The surface of the table is made from a polished slab of Bastille stone, upon which the cards are painstakingly painted to create a random effect, fooling the viewer into believing that they are real. This table, made explicitly for the playing of games, is a game in itself.

The layering of meaning which this image/object performs establishes it as a site of spectatorial gratification. The Bastille had previously provided the subject for illusionistic representation in Willem van Nymegen's trompe-l'oeil print, tacked to an engraved 'wooden' wall in a conventional manner (Ill. 4.28), although the construction of the table from an actual piece of the building problematises to an unprecedented degree the relationship between the true and the false, and accentuates the utility of the material object itself as a site for the production of memory. The significance of the table's construction, combined with deliberate

[110] The table surface, viewed from above, is a fairly conventional subject for trompe-l'oeil, and

attempts to complicate, obscure or obstruct access to the meaning of the cards by partially covering over text and image, alongside the attempt to foil perception generated by the use of trompe-l'oeil, indicate that the table is intentionally 'hard to get'. Although it is unclear whether Palloy's authorship of the playing cards extends to the table itself (the materials of its construction would suggest that this is so), the table unmistakably institutes a mode of looking which forces the discovery of Republican symbolism.[111] In this sense, the table serves an educational purpose, the viewer working out for themself the riddle of the symbolism – although it must be added that this is a game which requires previous knowledge – 'the "eye"', as Bourdieu reminds us, 'is a product of history reproduced by education.'[112]

Perhaps it is time to recall Burke's claim that revolutionary politics were transforming France into 'one great play table,'[113] and to remember that the backs of playing cards not only formed the material base for *billets de confiance* in advance of the initial issue of assignats (Ill. 4.29), but were used by Palloy himself as identity cards for workers demolishing the Bastille.[114] The coming together of game, identity document and money form is recalled in Palloy's account of their unscrupulous and deceitful commodification:

> Il arrivait que les ouvriers porteurs de leurs cartes d'éntrée les vendirent, parce-qu'ils pouvaient entrer et sortir étant connus des sentinelles, de façon qu'il s'en est vendu à la porte 6 livres. Un étranger m'a assuré en avoir payé une 12 livres. Il est arrivé aussi que beaucoup de ces cartes étaient vendues au public par des sentinelles qui s'emparaient des cartes. Les personnes qui n'étaient pas pourvues de cartes d'entrée ne pouvaient voir que la première cour. Il a été impossible d'empêcher ce trafic, les ouvriers faisaient contribuer, et les bourgeois même offraient des pourboires, en sorte qu'on fut obligé de faire un caisse commune: on mit, à cet effet, un tronc à la porte du fort. M.Vienne a placé sa fille, qui recevait les dons des particuliers. Il eut le malheur d'être suspect, aussi s'est-il plaint de l'ingratitude des ouvriers. Une autre espèce de rétribution: Plusieurs ouvriers avaient acheté des flambeaux et montraient au public les cachots. J'ai moi-même, munis d'un flambeau, satisfait les personnes qui désideraient voir ces affreux antres de despotisme, et ce, pour empêcher les ouvriers de rançonner le

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appears in several works by Boilly.

[111] The table is catalogued as 'Anonymous' in the Musée Carnavalet, MB 197.

[112] P.Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice, London, 1999 [1979], p. 3.

[113] E.Burke, op. cit., p. 189.

[114] In fact, in many countries, Canada for instance, playing cards were used as an early form of currency before an institutional substitute was provided.

> public. Je n'ai pu réussir. Ils avisèrent un autre moyen de satisfaire leur cupidité. Ils firent une ouverture dans laquelle ils cachèrent une certaine quantité de personnes, qui avaient la patience d'attendre que l'appel fût fait: ils passaient la nuit dans l'intérieur des cachots.[115]

The eager capitalism of Palloy and his workers is here framed as based upon trickery and the exploitation of circumstance, with identity card conforming to the logic of the card-game. If we look closely, in the bottom left-hand corner of Tableau one hundred and twenty-three, a playing card, augmented with manuscript additions, can be clearly seen peeking beneath more conventional money forms. There is little difference, it seems, between objects such as this table, and the trompe-l'oeil representation of paper money.

The trompe-l'oeils of 1796 and 1797 express a traumatic encounter, not only with the failed assignat, but with the continuity of revolutionary history. The assignat had symbolised more than economic value: representing political autonomy and the redistribution of wealth, it was, moreover, a signifier of political stability and the Revolution's intransience, as well as representing anxieties of political disintegration. The trompe-l'oeil designs, especially those, such as Tableau one hundred and twenty-three, which were part of 'histories', perpetuated and historicised the assignat, incorporating it fully into a narrative of Revolution. Little wonder that Jules Michelet, the Revolution's first great historian, began his epic account in *Le Peuple* by recalling his father's work in assignat production during the Revolution.[116] Removed from circulation as a functioning commodity, the assignat is reified as 'art', a subject, rather than means of representation, with significance for an art-buying audience far narrower than the millions who had circulated the assignat itself. Despite the impression of capitalist accumulation given by the 'hoarding' of currency in trompe-l'oeil representation, in this context the layering of the assignat signifies its removal from circulation, historicises it and conflates its many meanings. Yet the historicisation of the assignat does not diminish its persistence as a problem which remained to be wrestled with in post-revolutionary France. Nevertheless, this transition transposes the communal memory which the assignat represented to a private sphere of individual

[115] Palloy, *Mémoires*, BN Ms. N. A. Fr. 2811. Quoted in: H.R.d'Allemagne, *Les Cartes a jouer du XIVe au XXe siècle*, vol. I, Paris, 1906, p. 496.
[116] J. Michelet, *Le Peuple*, Paris, 1974, p. 65.

contemplation, an aspect materially exaggerated in the form of Palloy's table, and in a finely-crafted box decorated with trompe-l'oeil assignats (Ill. 4.30).

Indeed, the domestic, feminine associations of such a box go some way to complicating Susan Siegfried's identification of trompe-l'oeil as a specifically male form of representation, by virtue of its aggressive, competitive, coded and therefore exclusive interpretation, and its concentration upon a plethora of male personal effects, amongst which money must be included.[117] Siegfried suggests that this gendering of trompe-l'oeil 'depends upon a male sense of entitlement to play around with the rules of art'.[118] The argument is persuasive, certainly at the level of production, and the clear gendering of economic power made material in the assignats' representation. However, at an interpretative or receptive level the situation is, I would contend, less clear-cut – witness the fans printed with these designs: gendered objects which clearly signify masking, subterfuge and seduction, attracting, yet simultaneously acting as barriers to a voyeuristic male gaze.

Trickery, deception and dissimulation; conspicuous anxieties of revolutionary rhetoric, are clearly significant here, especially when figured against the truth claims of virtuous Republican transparency which the assignats themselves sought to materialise. Against this background I want to make the case that the primary mnemonic import of images such as this, and Tableau one hundred and twenty-three is their status as visual traps, the formal, layered arrangement of the notes ensuring a mode of looking which arrests the gaze, detaining it in a net of fractured, compound subjects – rather than 'fooling', defeating or diverting it, as the generic categorisation as trompe-l'oeil might suggest. We could add that this is a trick designed to arrest perception, to 'create' memory by formalising a suspension of circulation in the layering of notes and the exclusion of narrative context.

Added to this are a range of potential pitfalls which may be hidden from view. As the anthropologist Alfred Gell has observed, 'not designed to communicate or function as a sign (in fact, designed to be hidden and escape notice), the trap

[117] S.Siegfried, op. cit., pp. 34-36.
[118] S.Siegfried, ibid., p. 35.

nonetheless signifies far more intensely than most signs intended as such.'[119] Gell adds: 'Moreover, we are able to see that each [trap] is not only a model of its creator, a subsidiary self in the form of an automaton, but each is also the model of its victim.'[120] Assignats are trapped in the trompe-l'oeil, just as they had in turn captured *rentier* and counterfeiter alike. This form of entrapment was, of course, a characteristic of the assignats themselves, especially the complex hidden nets of the watermarks, designed to ensnare counterfeiters with a kind of legitimate dissimulation appropriate to the peculiar status of money as a mass-reproducible form susceptible to the auratic concerns of the 'original'. It is revealed on a five hundred livres note from the year II, designed by Thibault and Pressavin (Ill. 4.31), as entirely dependent on spectatorial position (this is the same note, the uppermost example lit from below, the one below photographed without illumination).

The watermark problematises and fetishises the work of looking. If 'money takes the shape of coin because of its function as the circulating medium,'[121] as Marx only half-joked, then surely the primary medium specific attribute of paper money is transparency, particularly highly-valued during the French Revolution as political metaphor and arbiter of authenticity, allowing also a clear view of the politicised human labour which the technologies of the assignat encased. I hardly need point out the significance of the relationship between the simulative pretensions of trompe-l'oeil and the endeavour to make all assignats identical.[122] These watermarks must, in turn, be read against the intricate meshes used in their manufacture (Ill. 4.32), as well as the exhaustive lists of similarity and difference produced to help shopkeepers and banks determine true from false assignat, an unwanted serif on a 't', or a misplaced stamp serving as an admission of guilt.

Indeed, the visual and metaphoric correspondences between the formal layout of the notes in these trompe-l'oeil representations and their mnemonic function resurface

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[119] A.Gell, 'Vogel's Net: Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps' in: *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, London, 1999, p. 200. Elsewhere, Gell discusses the 'magic' effect of trompe-l'oeil painting, considering its popular prestige a response to an assumed 'ideal' artistic effect. A.Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology' in: A.Gell, ibid., pp. 170-172.

[120] A.Gell, 'Vogel's Net...', op. cit., p. 200.

[121] K. Marx, *Capital...*, op. cit. , p. 221.

[122] Furthermore, both the assignats and trompe-l'oeil representation depend on an act of transubstantiation: paint on canvas (or, here, print) 'becomes' the real, much as assignats 'became' land.

in a prominent memorial device which began to appear at this time. The woven hair of dead revolutionaries and royalists alike was often incorporated into elaborate reliquaries or jewellery (Ill. 4.33), paralleling the methodically superimposed fragments of the trompe-l'oeil images. In one 'window' of a reliquary the intertwined hair of Marie-Antoinette forms a corporeal Gordian knot whose tightness and resistance to separation renders an ephemeral fragment solid, standing, like Tableau one hundred and twenty-three, as a metaphor for the endurance, indeed the possibility, of memory.[123]

Elsewhere, as we have seen, the anxiety of political disintegration found repeated visual expression in a metaphor of absence. Royalist memorial imagery such as this German émigré print (Ill. 4.34), with the silhouette profiles of the royal family appearing in the spaces outlined by shattered Federative altar, complete with splintered fasces, share a formal resemblance with pre-Republican assignats, and their imprint of the sovereign's physiognomy in negative space, a reading enhanced by the heavy decorative border, a signal feature of the assignat, and also a characteristic of eighteenth-century mourning cards.

The secretive, deliberately hard to find aspect of these negative portraits reaches its apogée in an image mentioned earlier, featuring a grim reaper hovering above a sea of overlaid assignats and tattered portraits, blown into disarray by a diminutive putto (Ill. 4.25). This is a tiny image, measuring no more than three inches in diameter, into which a mass of detail has been condensed. Made to adorn the lid of a box, as a similar object demonstrates (Ill. 4.35), the image is round, a shape which forces an ocular association exacerbated by the need for 'hard' looking. Only under the most intensified scrutiny does the image fully reveal itself. At the top left-hand corner of the portrait of Mirabeau, the top left-hand corner of that of Lafayette and at the bottom left-hand side of Necker's portrait, at the torn edges of the paper whose outline is further blurred by the shadow cast by the other fragments, are three silhouette portraits, unmistakably Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette. Look hard, they are intentionally difficult to find. Suddenly every shadow, every rip and

[123] The analogy of the Gordian knot is not arbitrary, as the seemingly impossible situation of the assignat was often described in such terms, requiring a decisive action similar to Alexander's severance of the mythical knot. See: *Le Noeud-Gordien*, Paris, 1790. In the late nineteenth century the metaphor was employed to describe the hopelessness of a reconciliation between conservative and Republican tendencies. See: *Le Noeud Gordien: Légitimé ou Radicalisme*, Paris, 1873.

fissure, becomes a potential ghostly face. Perhaps these absent friends, literally 'cut-out' from the surface of the print within a print, are the 'memory holes' which the anonymous author of the *Almanach de Trou-Madame* was so eager to find in the past, a past which he viewed with a gaze informed and inflected by ludic practice.[124]

The motif of the cut-out had a precedent in trompe-l'oeil paintings such as Antonio Forbera's cardboard representation of a layered easel, complete with a deliberately poor copy of a Poussin (Ill. 4.36), which appears similar to an advanced theatrical prop. However, in this instance the cutting-out is not limited to the external edges of the image, and carries a greater symbolic weight. The cut-out here corresponds perhaps more accurately to the illusionistic coptographs, or cut-out shapes, used in magic lantern shows and phantasmagoria, which shared a similarly gothic preoccupation with the dead. Given the scale of this image it is highly likely that it was intended to be viewed beneath some form of magnifier, or spectacles. Yet another trompe-l'oeil finalises the association (implicit in the name trompe-l'*oeil*) between this form of subject matter and a demanding visuality (Ill. 4.37). Here a pair of spectacles lie abandoned on an assignat and playing card trompe-l'oeil, as if the owner has momentarily put them down after a period of concentrated examination (maybe the image finally did 'trompe-l'oeil'), only for the glasses themselves to become incorporated into the illusion.[125] The scopophilic anxieties of the hidden or masked subject or meaning are subtly enforced by an obituary of Robespierre, narrated by James H. Johnson: 'He was crime incarnate. He covered his eyes with spectacles to keep people from looking into his soul.'[126]

Certainly, the accounting of loss after the Terror may shed some light upon the meaning of the assignats' synthetic reproduction, not for nothing did Sade remind us that one of the nicknames given to the guillotine blade was the 'planche aux assignats.'[127] In his *Histoire des Crimes*, an encyclopaedic, if exaggerated, audit of Terrorist atrocity, the journalist Louis-Marie Prudhomme listed the depravities committed under Jacobin rule in a tableau form (Ill. 4.38) not dissimilar to the published records of the assignats' depreciation, or the tables listing the articles to

[124] Jacques Lacan has used the linguistic similarities between 'trou' and 'true' to characterise his discussion of 'holes in the real.' See: J.Lacan, op. cit.
[125] This image notably includes a playing card marked 'bon pour un dejeuner'.
[126] J.H.Johnson, op. cit., p. 112.
[127] P.Sollers ed., *Sade contre l'Être Suprême*, Paris, 1992 [1794], p. 26.

be destroyed on the Place des Piques in 1796, posted around Paris in the days before the ceremony (Ill. 4.39).[128] In addition, Prudhomme, who by this point was arguing a conservative position which contrasted with his previous radicalism, included in his work disturbing composite imagery of drownings, burnings and executions, whose main task, like the trompe-l'oeil anomalies, is the work of memory (Ill. 4.40), figured as a fractured, aggregate trap based on the model of the divided, politically partisan, revolutionary subjectivity.

In 1792, with hostile armies massing on France's borders, and paranoia and shortage threatening to sabotage the Revolution just as it reached its most epic phase, it was recommended that a copy of all administrative documents: passports, *certificats du civisme*, residency documents and so on; be returned to the municipal officers without whose approval the documents would not have been issued in the first place. This circular excess of administration, the logical extreme of surveillance, was characterised as a 'layering' of data. Four years later, following its symbolic demise, the assignat was subjected to a similar 'layering' as it entered the archive which for the previous six years had harboured the secret of its watermarks, types and stamps. Camus, the first director of the Archives Nationales, had been behind an appeal, enthusiastically taken up by the Abbé Grégoire, to melt down the sceptre and crown featured on the seal of the Bourbon monarchy to make assignats.[129] Now, a representative sample of this money, and the equipment used to print it, was saved by Camus from destruction, to be catalogued and stored in the archives, an act which invalidated their symbolic destruction by incorporation in the official collective memory bank of the Republic, layered and stripped of context, memory for memory's sake. As Benjamin observed:

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[128] J.Zizek, ' "Plume de Fer: Louis-Marie Prudhomme Writes the French Revolution', *French Historical Studies*, vol 26, no 4, Fall 2003.

[129] 'Le 22 septembre 1792, sur la demande de l'archiviste, la Convention nationale décréta que le sceau des archives porteroit pour type une femme appuyée d'une main sur un faisceau, tenant de l'autre main une lance surmontée du bonnet de la liberté [...] Enfin, le 6 octobre même année, la Convention décréta que les anciens sceaux, le sceptre et la couronne, seroient brisés et convertis en monnoie; ce qui fut executé'. Abbé Grégoire, *Rapport fait au conseil des cinq-cents, sur les sceaux de la République, séance de 11 pluviôse, an IV*, Paris, 1796, pp. 1-2. For more on Grégoire's proposals for the seal of the Republic see: L.Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, pp. 87-119. Grégoire himself appeared to consider the assignat an extension of the seal of the state, arguing that those who attempted to forge the seal should be subject to the same punishment as counterfeiters of assignats. Grégoire, op. cit., p. 6.

> Language has unmistakably made plain that memory is not an instrument for exploring the past, but rather a medium. [...] He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging. Above all, he must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns soil. For the "matter itself" is no more than the strata which yield their long-sought secrets only to the most meticulous investigation. [...] for authentic memories, it is far less important that the investigator report on them than that he mark, quite precisely, the site where he gained possession of them. Epic and rhapsodic in the strictest sense, *genuine memory must therefore yield an image of the person who remembers*, in the same way a good archaeological report not only informs us about the strata from which its findings originate, but also gives an account of the strata which first had to be broken through.[130]

The ludic gaze, as performed on the assignat trompe-l'oeils, repeats and recuperates that which has been lost, trapping and reflecting the viewer's subject position – trompe-l'oeil itself merely provides a means by which to engage and animate the past within the rules of a pre-acknowledged game. What is at stake in these images is the memory of the viewer, their own participation in the Revolution mediated through their use of that most commonplace, yet most extraordinary revolutionary currency, to which they unavoidably return.

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In 1889, the first centenary of the Revolution, the card manufacturer Bognard issued a series of chromolithographic cards representing key figures of the Revolution, of which the example of Marat and Charlotte Corday discussed in chapter one (Ill. 1.48) was a part. These cards, which were licensed to advertisers to distribute amongst their clients, often attached at no extra cost to a commodity such as chocolate or tobacco, feature a range of prominent characters such as Robespierre, Mirabeau, and Danton, each against an oversized, individualised assignat, reproduced with astonishing clarity, so that even the *timbre sec* is visible (Ill. 4.41). The baseball cards or football stickers of their day, these souvenir-images proved extremely popular, and Bognard also produced a series of 'passport' cards.

[130] W.Benjamin, 'Excavation and Memory' in: W.Benjamin, *Selected Writings, Vol 2, 1927-1934*, trans. by Rodney Livingstone, Cambridge, MA and London, 1999 [c.1932], p. 576. My italics.

One hundred years later, print culture looks back on itself, and the assignat is confirmed as an expression of the medium of memory, returned to repeatedly in the hope that it will 'yield [...] to the most meticulous investigation.' On each card, the site where the individual memories were first possessed is marked, as Benjamin suggested, different emissions of money corresponding to the episodes of the Revolution at which each character entered history - the royal family against an assignat *a face royale*, Saint-Just proclaiming from the tribune to a spartan five livres note from the year II, and so on. Like the assignat trompe-l'oeils, whose illusionistic play on scale and replication of the reproduced they share, these objects generalise the authenticity of individual narrative to encompass the entire revolutionary experience, marking out in the process a commodified, historical and determinedly visual Revolution.

CONCLUSION

This thesis argues that prints produced and sold during the French Revolution were a primary site for the formation of both individual subjectivities and wider national or political community identities. I have argued that printed images mediated the relationship between individuals and the Revolution. Identification as a citizen involved a renewed understanding of the nation, of space and of time, and an individual's relationship to them – in other words it involved a reassessment of self and belonging that often coincided with an new attention to the transformed limits of personal liberty. Printed images from a range of milieu reflected, commented upon and in many cases actively circumscribed the limits of this liberty, a relationship predicated upon a range of different ways of looking current at the same time. I have suggested that the relationship between the circulation of individuals and images was dialogic, and that it provided a means to determine political and social 'authenticity'. Similarly, it also offered a point of resistance for those who opposed the Revolution, and I have paid particular attention to processes of counterfeiting and appropriation, and the modes of surveillance and inspection conceived in response. These seemingly negative subversive practices often served an active purpose within revolutionary image-making, galvanising the role and dictating the form of the images they sought to replicate and undermine. Finally, I have argued that printed images worked to form individual subject positions and imagined communities through their conceptual as well as representational engagement with the past, and their mediation of revolutionary memory.

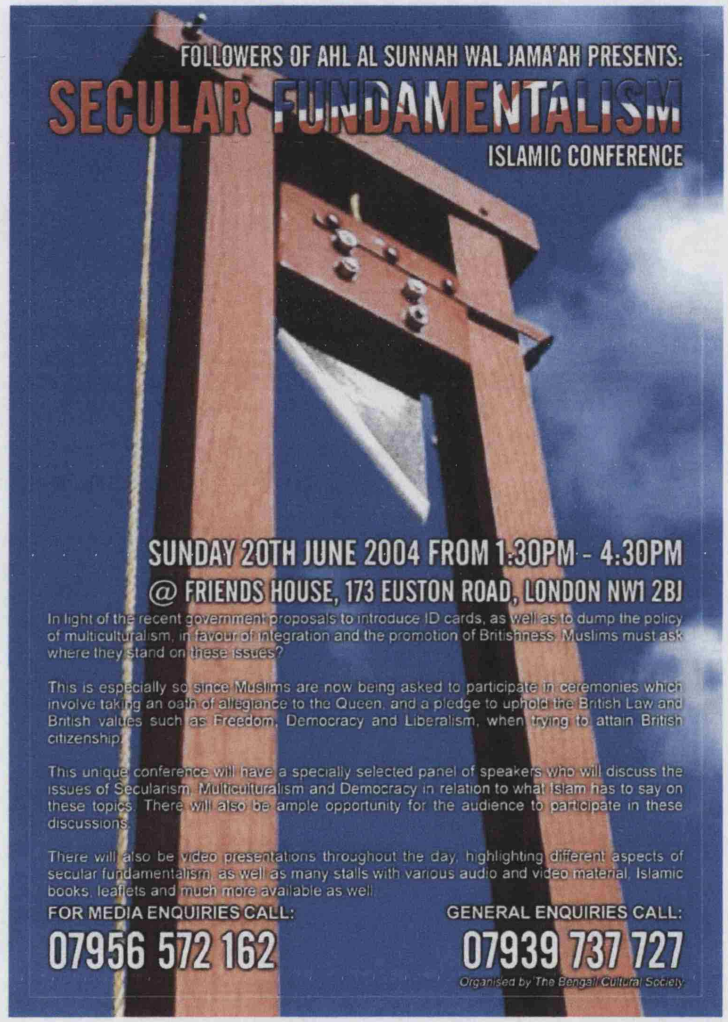
Rather than seeking to mark out a solitary means by which this relationship manifested itself, I have shown that the association between subject and image was in flux, and that themes of stability or change could manifest themselves on the same material base. I have argued that at an essential level, images in the French Revolution were sites of struggle and appropriation, subject to competing claims by diverse and politically different groups, and that images played a constitutive as well as illustrative role in the development of revolutionary politics.

I have concentrated on four case studies drawn from the print culture of the French Revolution. In my first chapter I argued that the assignat should be considered in

terms of its cultural as well as economic value, and that as a self-consciously visual image, or series of images, it was a primary medium of interaction between the individual citizen and the state. The iconographic and technical alterations to the assignat, produced as part of the Revolution's symbolic regeneration and in response to an influx of counterfeit notes, led to a heightened awareness of the visuality of circulating paper money, and of its significance as a sign of transparent political virtue. In my second chapter I examined the ways in which printed representations of revolutionary festivals mediated the experiences of participating in a festival, and how they represented, and even accounted for, the transient structures prominent in festivals. The viewing of festival prints, which represented the original event from many different angles and at many different times, allow a form of spectatorial completion unavailable even to participants in the festival. In my third chapter I examined passports and certificates issued in the Revolution, arguing that the textual description of the bearer on these documents, and the archive which perpetuated them, provided new ways of conceptualising the relationship of the individual revolutionary subject to the state. I related these ostensibly non-representational documents to practices of portraiture and physiognomy, to demonstrate how these documents were dependent upon acknowledged conventions of representation. They demonstrate the extent to which identity was regulated in the Revolution by processes of looking and being looked at which elided the difference between circulating subject and image. In my final chapter, I examined the technologies of game-playing which survived into the Revolution or were re-invented at this time. I argue that the production and use of illegal as well as legal, propagandistic games were inflected by revolutionary politics, and that games mobilised discourses of spectatorship specific to the revolutionary context. I conclude with an analysis of a group of ludic trompe-l'oeil images of assignats and other discarded fragments of revolutionary paper culture, images whose play on vision demands an engagement with the excessive visuality of the scraps of paper they represent. These images also demonstrate the extent to which prints of the French Revolution could function as a medium of memory, standing for the Revolution and negotiating the trauma it engendered.

My subject matter and approach departs significantly from previous scholarship on the visual culture during the French Revolution. I have examined prints which,

although circulated in massive quantities during the Revolution, have been excluded from serious consideration as visual documents, because of aesthetic prejudice against their 'ephemeral' status. I have shown that in fact many of these prints were produced with artistic collaboration at some level, and argued that irrespective of such associations, these prints were conceived and understood in visual terms. Previous studies have either been overtly connoisseurial or technical, or have considered these prints only as illustrations of events, or of the systems which they represent; for instance, an assignat might be reproduced in a treatise on the sale of national properties, with no mention of the object itself. No work has contextualised any of the subjects of my study within a wider comparative field of printed material issued in France at this time. No work to date has brought together the examples I concentrate upon here, or made anything more than implicit the link between personal and state politics and the production and use of these prints in terms of their function as images. Rather than these prints being the inconsequential dust thrown up by the march of history, I have aimed to show that they were in fact central to the historical process, with a real if seldom acknowledged currency in the course of the French Revolution.



0.5 Anon
Flyer for 'Secular Fundamentalism' Islamic Conference, organised by followers of Ahl Al Sunnah Wal Jama'ah, 20th June 2004, Friends House, London.
Commercial Inkjet print, 19.5 x 13.5cm., collection of author

1.5 Assignat
50 sols, 23rd May 1793
Mixed print techniques, 8.3 x 7cm., collection of author, illuminated from beneath

1.6 Assignat
25 sols, 4th January 1792
Mixed print techniques, 10 x 6cm., collection of author

1.48 Bognard company
Charlotte Corday/Marat
Trade card advertising 'La chicorée des mandarins' coffee substitute, Casiez-Bourgeois, Cambrai
Chromolithograph, 1889, 11 x 8cm., collection of author

1.49 Assignat
200 livres, 16th and 17th April 1790
Mixed print techniques, dimensions unknown (in: M.Muszynski, *Les Assignats de la Révolution française*, p. 69). Elongated 'N' highlighted in red.

1.50 Dromard
Dessin définitif de la matrice de l'assignat de 2000 francs, crée le 18 nivôse, an III (7th January 1795)
Watercolour, 1795, 24 x 37cm, Musée National des Techniques, Inv. 13571.313

1.51 Jolivet (de Lyon)
Silk assignats
500 livres, 1793, dimensions unknown (in: J.Lafaurie, *Les Assignats et les papiers-monnaies émis par l'état au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 188)

1.52 Anon
Adoration des patriotes, à l'aspect d'un gros-sous, dessinée en france d'après nature l'an (sans argent) 3 de la liberté
Aquatint, 1792, 8.7 x 13.8cm., BN, de Vinck 3121, Qb1 100775, 100776 (Jaime), 100777

1.53 Anon
L'Expirante Targinette
Aquatint, 1792, 17.1 x 24.7cm., BN, de Vinck 1847 and 4281 Qb1 100969

1.54 Anon
Le Corps aristocrate sous la figure d'une femme, expirante dans les bras de la noblesse
Etching, c.1790, dimensions unknown, BN

1.55 Anon
Les couches de M. Target
Coloured aquatint, 1791, 11.8cm. diameter, BN, de Vinck 4278

1.56 Catholic and Royalist assignat
50 livres, remboursable au Trésor Royal
Mixed print techniques, c. 1793, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 5912

1.57 Assignat, siege of Lyon
Subvention civique, 20 livres, 1793
Mixed print techniques, dimensions unknown, BN (in: J.Lafaurie, *Les Assignats et les papiers-monnaies émis par l'état au XVIIIe siècle*, unpaginated)

1.58 Anon
Le Roi mangeant des pieds à la Sainte Menehould
Engraving, 1791, dimensions unknown, MRF

1.59 Anon
Le calculateur patriote
Etching and aquatint, c.1789, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 1615 (10)

1.60 Assignat
100 livres, 19th June 1791
Mixed print techniques, dimensions unknown (in: M.Muszynski, *Les Assignats de la Révolution française*, p. 68)

1.61 Assignat (detail of fleur-de-lys in corner)
25 sols, 4th January 1792
Mixed print techniques, 10 x 6cm., collection of author

1.62 Assignats
15 sols notes of 4th January 1792, 24th October 1792 and 23rd May 1793
Mixed print techniques, all approx. 7.8 x 6.8cm., private collection

2.1 Anon
Le serment de l'Indivisibilité de la République au pied de l'arbre de la liberté, le 12 août 1792
Watercolour, 1792, 25 x 19cm., MC, D. 3081

2.2 Jean-Louis Prieur [inv. del.] and Pierre-Gabriel Berthault [sculp.]
Fédération générale faite à Paris le 14 juillet 1790
Engraving, 1791, 20.1 x 27.1cm., BN, de Vinck 3779

2.3 Anon
Vue d'optique, hôtel Royale des Invalides
Coloured engraving, 1780, dimensions unknown, BN

2.4 Jean-Louis Prieur [inv. del.] and Pierre-Gabriel Berthault [sculp.]
Les troupes du Champ de Mars partant pour la place Louis XV le 12 juillet 1789
Engraving, 1791, 17.6 x 23.5cm., BN, de Vinck 1523

2.5 Anon [chez Jean]
Décoration du feu d'artifice
Coloured etching, 1782, dimensions unknown, BN

2.6 Michel
Croquis de la Montagne élevée pour la fête de l'Être Suprême, Paris: d'après nature par Michel
Pencil and ink, 1794, dimensions unknown, BN, Ve 53f rés., fol. Destailleur, 569

2.7 Étienne Béricourt
Divertissement pendant les travaux préparatifs de la fête de la Fédération
Ink drawing with gouache on paper, 1790, 24 x 38cm., MRF

2.8 Anon
Les travaux du Champ de Mars
Etching, 1791, from *Almanach de la Fédération de France*, dimensions unknown, BN, Grand-Carteret 999. Qb1 1790

2.9 Anon
Vue des travaux du Champ de Mars le 12 juillet 1790
Engraving, 1790, 28 x 48cm., MC, Hist. PC 11 bis C (no 12)

2.10 Anon
Aristocrates vous voila donc f...
Coloured etching, 1790, 26.7 x 33cm., BN, de Vinck 3725

2.11 Anon
Le Roi, piochant au Champ de Mars
Frontispiece to *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no 36
Engraving, 1790, dimensions unknown, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library, University of Pennsylvania

2.12 Anon
Les aristocrates désespérés du 14 juillet 1790
Etching, 1790, 33.7 x 40cm., MC, Hist. GC VI (no 50)

2.13 Anon
La Con-Federation nationale
Engraving, c.1790, dimensions unknown, BN, reserve collection

2.14 Étienne Charles Le Guay
La journée des brouettes (préparatifs de la fête de la Fédération au Champ de Mars, juillet 1790
Pen and ink and gouache, 1790, 48.5 x 97cm., MC, TGC D. 5015

2.15 François-Robert Ignouf
Préparatifs de la fête de la Fédération au Champ de Mars, juillet 1790
Engraving, 1790, dimensions unknown, MRF, Inv. 87-59

2.16 Anon
L'effet du patriotisme et l'activité des citoyens de Paris pour l'avancement des travaux du Champ de Mars destinés à la fête du 14 juillet 1790
Coloured etching, 1790, 33 x 26cm., MC, Hist. PC 11 bis C (no 13)

2.17 Jean Duplessi-Bertaux
Préparatifs de la fête de la Fédération au Champ de Mars, juillet 1790
Coloured engraving, 1790, dimensions unknown, Musée de Versailles

2.18 Anon
Vue de la fête donnée sur le plan de la Bastille, 18 juillet 1790
Engraving, 1790, 16.5 x 22.2cm., MC, rés. grav. G 21881

2.19 Le Sueur
Le modèle en pierre de la Bastille porté par quatre sans-culottes à la fête de la Liberté
Gouache on card, 1792, 36 x 53.5cm., MC

2.20 Atélier de Jean-François Palloy
Stone with plan of the Bastille, donated by 'Palloy Patriote', 14th July 1790
Carved Bastille stone, etching in wooden frame, 1790, 81.5 x 49.5cm., MRF

2.21 Anon [chez Webert]
Le dégel de la Nation (Italian version)
Aquatint, c. 1794, 21.4 x 29.9cm., BN, de Vinck 4364, Qb1 101180; Tf mat 1, T.2 (Rév. Fr.); Ars. 220 (85)

2.22 Jacques-Louis David
La triomphe du peuple français sur la monarchie
Pen and ink with gouache, 1794, 32.6 x 71cm., MC

2.23 Anon
Festival of Reason in Notre Dame Cathedral, 20 brumaire year II
From *Révolutions de Paris*, no 215
Line etching, 1793, 12 x 18.2cm., MC, PC 21 C (no 2)

2.24 Sergent-Marceau
Convoi de très haut et très puissant seigneur des abus
Aquatint, c. 1790, 24.1 x 40.8cm., BN, de Vinck 2763

2.25 Jean-Louis Prieur [inv. del.] and Pierre-Gabriel Berthault [sculp.]
Pompe funêbre en l'honneur des citoyens soldats morts à Nancy, septembre 1790
Engraving, c. 1791, 19.1 x 25.9cm., BN, de Vinck 3564

2.26 Jean-Louis Prieur [inv. del.] and Pierre-Gabriel Berthault [sculp.]
Première fête de la Liberté a l'occasion des Suisses de Château-vieux, le 15 avril 1792
Engraving, c. 1793-94, 19.6 x 27cm., BN, de Vinck 3567

2.27 Charles Thévenin
Fête de la Fédération
Oil on canvas, 1795, 127 x 183cm., MC, P. 2342

2.28 Charles Monnet [inv. del.] and Isidore-Stanislas Helman [sculp.]
Fédération générale des français au Champ de Mars, le 14 juillet 1790
Etching with burin, 1792, 27.1 x 43.5cm., BN, de Vinck 3776

2.29 Pierre-Antoine Demachy
Fête de la Fédération à Paris
Oil on canvas, 1790, 85 x 161cm., MC, P.2226

2.30 Hubert Robert
Fête de la Fédération au Champ de Mars
Oil on canvas, 1790, 52 x 96cm., Musée de Versailles, MV 4603

2.31 Anon
La Nation Française assistée par M. De Lafayette terrasse le Despotisme et les Abus du Regne Feodal qui terrassaient le Peuple
Etching, 1790, dimensions unknown, Cornell University Library

2.32 Anon
Serment de La Fayette à la fête de la Fédération
Oil on canvas, 1790, dimensions unknown, MC

2.33 Anon
Fête nationale le 14 juillet
Etching, 1790, dimensions unknown, BN

2.34 Swebach-Desfontaines
Serment fédératif, le 14 juillet 1790
Coloured etching, 1790, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 3761 (22)

2.35 Berthault pub.
Vue du Champ de Mars le 14 juillet 1790
Engraving, 1790, dimensions unknown, BN, Qb1 (14 juillet 1790)

2.36 Swebach-Desfontaines
Vue générale du Champ de Mars pendant la fête de la Fédération, 14 juillet 1790
Pen and ink, 1790, 53.2 x 91.6cm., MC, D 60031

2.37 Lequeu
Cross-sections of the stands and benches for the Festival of Federation
Pen and pencil on paper, 1790, dimensions unknown, BN

2.38 Cloquet [inv. del.] and Le François [sculp.]
Vue générale de la Fédération Française prise à vôl d'oiseau au-dessus de Chaillot
Coloured etching, 1790, 31.9 x 48.1cm., BN, de Vinck t. 22 no 3772

2.39 Anon
Plan général du Champ de Mars et du nouveau cirque
Coloured etching, 1790, 17.9 x 11.2cm., Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, 8 7553

2.40 Anon [chez le Noir]
A messieurs les souscripteurs. Allarme générale des habitants de Gonesse, occasionée par la chûte du Ballon Aréostatique de M. de Montgolfier (launched 27th August 1783, Champ de Mars)
Etching, 1783, dimensions unknown, MRF

2.41 Entry ticket allowing access to Jardin du Corps législatif
Fête de la Fondation de la République, 1 vendémiaire year XI (23rd September 1802)
Engraving, dimensions unknown, BN (in: M.-L.Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, fig. 68)

2.42 Anon Confraternity print
Notre Dame de l'Annonciation (des Brassiers...)
Wood engraving, 1771, dimensions unknown, private collection, Toulouse

2.43 Anon
La Fédération faite le 14 juillet 1790: la nation, la loi et le Roi
Coloured etching, 1790, 66.5 x 47.5cm., BN, Qb4 1790 and Qb5 1790 (Hennin t.124 no 10905)

2.44 Anon
Translation of Voltaire's remains to the Panthéon
Coloured etching, 1791, 42 x 54.5cm., MC, Topo. GCXXVI D.

2.45 Anon
Medal given to Fédérés at festival of Fédération, 1790
Bronze, approx. 7cm. diameter, MRF

2.46 Anon
La fontaine de la Régéneration sur les ruines de la Bastille, 10 août 1793
Engraving, 1793, dimensions unknown, BN (in: M.-L.Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, fig. 31)

2.47 Anon
Vue des six différentes stations de la fête de l'Unité et de l'Indivisibilité de la République
Etching, 1793, dimensions unknown, BN (in: M.-L.Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, fig. 32)

2.48 Abraham Girardet [inv. and del.] and Pierre-Gabriel Berthault [sculp.]
Fête de la Fondation de la République, 1er. Vendémiaire an V, 22 septembre 1796
Etching and engraving, c. 1798, 19.3 x 26.8cm., BN, de Vinck 6787

2.49 Nicolas A. Taunay
The Triumph of the Guillotine
Oil on canvas, c.1795, dimensions unknown, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

2.50 Anon
Montagne élevée au Champ de la Réunion pour la fête de l'Être Suprême le 20 prairial l'an 2eme
Coloured etching, 1794, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck t. 46 no 6305

2.51 Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. and sculp.]
Fête a l'Être Suprême, le 8 juin 1794, ou 20 prairial an 2eme de la République
Engraving, 1797, 18.9 x 25.0cm., BN, de Vinck 6310

2.52 Naudet
Fête de l'Être Suprême au Champ de Mars
Drawing and watercolour, 1794, 46.8 x 73cm., MC, D. 5976

2.53 Anon
Fête de l'Être Suprême au Champ de Mars
Coloured etching, 1794, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 6309 (46)

2.54 Jean Duplessi-Bertaux, after Wille
Fête dédiée à la Vieillesse
Engraving, 1794 and 1795, 51 x 66cm., MC, Hist. GCVIII bis (no 30)

2.55 Pierre-Antoine Demachy
Fête de l'Être Suprême
Oil on canvas, 1794, dimensions unknown, MC

3.1 Passport
Issued to Jean-Pierre Gilson, domestic, Département des Forêts, 13 thermidor year VIII (1st August 1800), recto and verso
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1800, 21 x 16cm., private collection

3.2 Congé définitif
Issued to Jacques Gallilet, 18 messidor year IX (7th July 1801)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1801, dimensions unknown, private collection

3.3 Aveu
Issued to Alexandre Boine, pluviose year IV (January-February 1796)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1796, 23.5 x 21cm., AN F^7 3465: 195

3.4 Passport
Issued in name of Baron de Korff, allowing travel of king as 'valet', 9th June 1791
Manuscript, 1791, dimensions unknown, AN

3.5 John Nixon
Le Gourmand, Heavy Birds Fly Slow. Delay Breeds Danger
Coloured etching, 1791, dimensions unknown, British Museum, French version at BN, de Vinck 3967 (23)

3.6 Anon
The arrest of Louis XVI at Varennes
Engraving, 1791, dimensions unknown, BN

3.7 Paul Jacques Aimé Baudry
Charlotte Corday
Oil on canvas, 1861, dimensions unknown, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

3.8 Anon
La Famille des cochons ramenée dans l'étable
Coloured etching, 1791, 19.7 x 28.8cm., BN, 3985

3.9 Membership card
Société Républicaine de Villeneuve-des-Argnon
Coloured engraving, c. 1793, approx. 9 x 7cm., MRF

3.10 Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux
Projet d'un monumnet pour consacrer la Révolution
Engraving, n.d., dimensions unknown, BN

3.11 Passport
Issued to Louis Baraud, département de la Seine inférieure, 3 frimaire an VI (23rd November 1797)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1797, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.12 Passport
Issued to Louis Baraud, département de la Seine inférieure, 3 frimaire an VI (23rd November 1797) (reverse)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1797, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.13 Passport
Issued to Jean-Baptiste Girardot, département du Nord, 11 prairial an IV (30th May 1796) (recto and verso)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1796, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.14 Passport
Issued to Augustin Defiré, département de la Sarthe, 26 brumaire an VII (16th November 1798)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1798, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.15 Anatole Devosge, after Jacques-Louis David
Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau sur son lit de mort
Charcoal drawing, 1793, 38 x 33cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon

3.16 Charles-François-Gabriel Levachez [inv. del. medallion] and Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. del. vignette]
Portraits of Charles Duval d'Épremenil, Camille Desmoulins, Néker (sic), *Dumouriez, Jean Sylvain Mauri and Caritat de Condorcet*
Aquatint and etching, year VIII, year VI, year VI, year VI, year VII and year VI, approx. 43.5 x 28cm. each, BN

3.17 Vincent Vangelisty after André Pujos
J. Delille
Engraving and etching, 1777, 41cm x 28cm, BN, Est. N2

3.18 Charles-François-Gabriel Levachez [inv. del. medallion] and Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. del. vignette]
Louis XVI, dernier roi des français, né le 23 aoust 1754
Aquatint and etching, year VII, 43.5 x 28cm., BN

3.19 Charles-François-Gabriel Levachez [inv. del. medallion] and Jean Duplessi-Bertaux [inv. del. vignette]
Honoré, Gabriel, Riquetti, Mirabeau, député de Provence aux États Généraux de 1789, mort le 2 avril 1791
Aquatint and etching, year VI, 43.5 x 28cm., BN

3.20 Gabriel
Portraits of Jacobins (Maillard, Simon, le cordonnier, and Jean Le Bon)
Pencil on paper, 1794, 9.5cm x 7.5cm, 9.8cm x 6.5cm, 6.8cm x 4.8cm., MC

3.21 Jacques-Louis David
Jeanbon Saint-André in prison
Brush and ink with gouache, 1795, dimensions unknown, Art Institute of Chicago

3.22 Anne-Louis Girodet
Portrait of Citoyen Belley, Ex-representative of the Colonies
Oil on canvas, 1797, 158 x 111cm., Château de Versailles

3.23 Passport
Issued to Anne-Louis Girodet, artist, messidor year IV (June 1796)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1796, dimensions unknown,
AN, $F^{7}3570$

3.24 Anon
l'Urne mystérieuse
Engraving, c.1793-94, dimensions unknown, BN

3.25 Anon
Un sans-culotte, instrument des crimes, dansant au milieu des horreurs
Etching, c.1793, 19.5 x 31.2cm., MRF, N. 84. 871

3.26 Passport
Issued to François Durand, département du Gard, 25 prairial an VII (13th June 1799)
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1799, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.27 Passport
Issued to Gilles Deschamps, département de la Marche, 4 ventôse an VI (22nd February 1798)
Manuscript, 1798, dimensions unknown, MRF

3.28 Napoleonic passport
Issued to V. Lamarre, 1st July 1808
Mixed print techniques with manuscript additions, 1808, dimensions unknown, private collection

3.29 Assignat
400 livres, 21st November 1792
Mixed print techniques, dimensions unknown (in: M.Muszynski, *Les Assignats de la Révolution française*, p. 114)

3.30 Laisser-passer
Local des Petits-Pères, Paris
Engraving with manuscript signature, n.d., dimensions unknown (in: J.Lafaurie, *Les Assignats et les papiers-monnaies émis par l'état au XVIIIe siècle,* p. 59)

3.31 Certificate for Conqueror of the Bastille
Mixed print techniques, 1790, dimensions unknown, MC

3.32 Vestier
Portrait of Latude
Oil on canvas, 1789, dimensions unknown, MC

4.1 Anon
A faut esperer q'eu jeu la finira ben tot
Coloured etching, 1789, 20.2 x 14.5cm., MC, inv. G23830

4.2 Anon
Loto des trois ordres
Etching, c.1789, dimensions unknown, BN, Hennin 10271

4.3 Anon
Nouveau moyen de régénérer la France
Engraving and etching, c. 1790, 13.4 x 8.5cm., BN, de Vinck 1394

4.4 Anon
Le législateur du biribi
Coloured etching, 1791-1794, dimensions unknown, BN, de Vinck 2654, Qb1
1790

4.5 Anon
Jeu national et instructif, ou leçons exemplaires et amusantes, données aux bons citoyens, par Henri IV et le Père Gérard
Etching and engraving, 1789, dimensions unknown, BN

4.6 Anon
La Récréation française ou nouveau historique et cronologique des Rois de France
Etching, n.d., dimensions unknown, BN

4.7 Anon
Jeu de la Révolution Française
Coloured etching, c. 1791, dimensions unknown, BN

4.8 Anon
Jeu de la Révolution française, tracé sur le plan du jeu d'oye renouvéle les grècs
Etching and engraving, c. 1790-91, dimensions unknown, BN

4.9 Anon
Loto du Dauphin (two views, with writing sample)
Wood and ivory, c. 1791-2, dimensions unknown, MC

4.10 Dugourc and Jaume
Placard publicitaire du jeu de Jaume et Dugourc
Hand coloured wood engraving, 1793, 45.5 x 29cm., Musée National des Arts et traditions populaires, Paris, 48. 18. 23

4.11 Anon
Jeu contre-révolutionnaire de 1792
Coloured etching, 1792, 7.5 x 4.8cm., BN, Est., Kh. 203 rés./boîte fol. (coll. D'Allemagne)

4.12 Jean-Pierre Bézu
Les cartes instructives de Bézu à Egalité-sur-Marne
Coloured etching, 1794, 8.3 x 5.4cm., BN, Est., Kh. 383, no 227/boîte fol. (coll. P.Marteau)

4.13 Delion [sculp.]
Nouvelle carte de France, avec le jeu de Bous solean
Engraving, 1814, 32.5 x 29.5cm., BN

4.14 Anon
Contre les Emigrants. L'Général vat en Guerre
Aquatint, 1792, 7.5 x 13.5cm., BN, de Vinck 3701; Hennin 11167, Qb1 101037 and 101038

4.15 Dodd [del.] and Pass [sculp.]
Nativities of the Late King and Queen of France
Etching, 1793, 20.6 x 16.3cm., BN, Hennin N. 11 761, t.134

4.16 Anon
Le nouvel astre français ou la cocarde tricolore suivant le cour du Zodiaque
Etching, c.1792, 24.9 x 30.3cm., MC, GC Allégories

4.17 J.Benizy dit. Dubuisson [del. and sculp.]
Valeur des assignats et autres papiers monnaies, depuis l'époque de leur emission en France, jusqu'à celle ou ils ont cessé d'avoir Cours
Coloured engraving, c.1796, 24.2 x 36.3cm., MRF

4.18 J.Benizy
Vignette for Dépots Nationaux Littéraires
Engraving, n.d., dimensions unknown (fragment), MRF

4.19 Louis-Léopold Boilly
Trompe-l'œil aux pièces de monnaies, sur le plateau d'un guéridon
Oil on mahogany, c. 1803-14, 48 x 60 x [base] 76cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

4.20 Anon
Burning of assignats
Aquatint, published in Germany, c.1796, dimensions unknown, BN

4.21 Anon
Éventail d'assignats
Engraving, c. 1796, dimensions unknown, Musée National des Techniques

4.22 Anon
Trompe-l'oeil assignats with table of values and depreciation
Engraving, c. 1796, dimensions unknown, BN

4.23 Anon
Trompe l'oeil d'assignats avec mendiant (après Jacques Callot) (det.)
Engraving, c.1796, 57.1 x 47.5cm. (whole print), BN, de Vinck 3335 (19), Hennin 12412 (141), Qb1 1796 (18 juillet)

4.24 Anon
Tableau d'assignats avec portraits de victimes et de profiteurs
Engraving, 1796-1799, dimensions unknown, BN, Qb1 1796 (18 juillet)

4.25 Anon
Trompe-l'oeil assignats with dead revolutionaries
Engraving, c.1796, approx. 7cm. diameter, Strang Print Room, University College London

4.26 Anon
Apparition de l'ombre de Mirabeau
Stipple engraving, 1792, 34.7 x 29.8cm., BN, de Vinck 1933

4.27 Atelier de Palloy
Trompe-l'oeil table with playing cards (two views)
Painted Bastille stone and wood, 1789-95, dimensions unknown, MC

4.28 Willem van Nymegen
Trompe-l'oeil of Bastille
Engraving, n.d., dimensions unknown, private collection

4.29 Anon
Playing cards marked 'bon pour un pain'
Woodblock with manuscript additions, n.d., dimensions unknown, private collection

4.30 Anon
Tabatière aux assignats
Wooden box with engraved paper inlay, 1796, 8.5cm. diameter, MC, OFL 11-481

4.31 Assignats
500 livres, 20 pluviôse year II
Mixed print techniques, 18 x 11.5cm., collection of author, uppermost note illuminated from beneath to show watermark

4.32 Assignat watermark meshes
Forme filigranée. Projet non retenu (uppermost) and *Forme filigranée, par Tugot* (below)
Wood, copper and silver, 1793-94 and 1794, dimensions unknown, Musée National des Techniques. Inv. 97

4.33 Reliquary with intertwined hair (and detail of Marie-Antoinette's hair)
Wood, glass and personal effects, after 1793, dimensions unknown, MC

4.34 Anon
German émigré print
Etching, n.d., approx. 20 x 15cm., Strang Print Room, University College London

4.35 Anon
Tabatière with trompe-l'oeil assignats and dead revolutionaries
Wood with inlad print, c.1796, 8.5cm. diameter, MC

4.36 Antonio Forbera
Painter's Easel
Oil on canvas cut-out, 1686, 162 x 95cm., Musée Calvet, Avignon

4.37 Anon
Tableau des assignats (avec cartes à jouer et lunettes)
Engraving, 1796-1799, dimensions unknown, BN, Qb1 1796 (18 juillet)

4.38 Louis-Marie Prudhomme
Tableau listing details of deaths during the Revolution
From *Histoire des Crimes*, Tome VI, page 21
Engraving, 1796-97, dimensions unknown, BN

4.39 Anon
Poster detailing objects to be destroyed on Place des Piques, 19th February 1796
Engraving, 1796, dimensions unknown, Musée National des Techniques

4.40 Louis-Marie Prudhomme
Medley of atrocities from Histoire des Crimes, Tome I
Engraving, 1796-97, dimensions unknown, BN

4.41 Bognard company
Advertising cards featuring various revolutionary figures and assignats
Chromolithograph, c. 1889, 11 x 8cm. each, collection of author

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